The Forum

AUGUST, 1922

THIS FLAPPER AGE

By WILLARD THORP

THE literary great-grandmother of Mrs. Malaprop, Wycherley's Mrs. Caution, said to her young niece just 250 years ago to a month—"O, the fatal liberty of this masquerading age! When I was a young woman——" Whereat Hippolita, the niece, whose avatar is the flapper, replied, "By what I've heard, 'tis a pleasant, well-bred, complaisant, free, frolic, good-natured, pretty age; and if you do not like it, leave it to us that do." But this free-frolicsomeness and good nature, radiant virtues to Hippolita, are just the "fatal liberties" which disconcert the guardians of youth today. Indeed, it is exceptional to find one who is willing to venture that the present generation, though erratic, is still the hope of the future. We (for you must soon know that I am one of the upholders of this pretty age), having repudiated the benefit of the clergy, are cursed by book, bell, and candle; our parents wait, despondent, for the return of the "enfants prodigues"; our instructors have smiled wanly while we go jazzing on "the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death." I suppose this has always been so, this conflict. At least it's as old as

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Dan Chaucer, for he remarks that "youth and elde is often at debaat."

I have no intention of hurling invectives at my elders. I was reared, like the son of Anchises, to be "pious," and, besides, I am supposed to have reached years of discretion. But for sometime I have assumed with my acquaintances a championship of this frolic age, a rather useless occupation at that, for youth's present defense is a sublime and undismayed indifference. The particular kind of youth that I know most about is the college boy and the college girl, for I was a fair specimen of the former not so long ago and I now earn my purveyance by teaching the latter. The college man and the college woman (for so they prefer to be called) are not so different from others of their age. Indeed, M. Scott-Fitzgerald's are quite of the kind that Mrs. Caution and, of more recent times, Mrs. Gerould have traduced.

I sometimes wonder when I hear the old guard in a college faculty lamenting the frivolity of their students if they have ever recently considered what it means to be an undergraduate. Most of us are jerked into activity by ambition. If it were otherwise, instead of biding a vapid existence, we should tie a pair of andirons around our useless neck and jump into the nearest deep water. When a boy comes to college, his heart is soon yearning to be a *college man,* typified for him in the young alumnus who "comes back" with many a tale to be retold. To his peers it means to be known by those who also count in the college world, to have a share in "running things" Senior year, to hold a respectable place in the class scholarship list, if possible. In spite of the democratic ideal, social prestige almost inevitably counts. This state of affairs is not so different from that obtaining in the bigger world outside. To be accepted in either social group as a superior citizen, you must prove that your achievements are of a sort which entitle you to merit. Unfortunately, in American colleges the determination of the kind of success which shall mark

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a man as better than his fellows is not the affair of the faculty. They make little attempt to convince the aspirant for college honor that his real business is with books and ideas. If a student finally discovers the joys of mastering knowledge, he usually does so unaided. We who teach have come to believe that to make learning attractive is to cheapen and debase it. I hear so often, "Freshmen ought to know why they are in college." Verily, but no one has troubled to tell them and before many weeks are gone, the advice of upperclassmen, who have gone the same way with no greater wisdom, will show plainly in the quality of their work. The college lecturer hands down a sheaf of opinions from his rostrum with a take-it-or-leave-it air, which results most often in the student's deciding to leave it. Then follows surprise, indignation, backbiting, and contempt on the part of the outraged teacher.

If, as Mr. Cram believes, the Middle Ages were the days, Ἔξοχα πάντων, for art, they were equally so for education. Students were athirst for knowledge then; they sought their teacher, compelled him under contract to teach what they wanted, and nothing else. If he missed a lecture or digressed, skipped difficulties or failed to stick to his glossing and cover the ground, his fee was reduced in proportion to his delinquency. Today, the teacher pours in the dose of "required" and "elective," willy-nilly, and collects for incidentals. The European tradition has, moreover, been to encourage intimacy between teachers and the taught. Honored among men were those students who climbed the dark and narrow stairs to Erasmus' quarters in the cloisters of Queen's College. What would you give to have listened to Colet discussing the "new method" with his friends after one of the public lectures on the personality of St. Paul?

Naturally, two classes who do not know each other except as task masters and recalcitrants cannot be in symphonic accord. The American undergraduate has scant means of knowing whether the life of the scholar, or the scientist, or

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even of the intelligent dilettante is worth cultivating. He rarely sees those who lead such lives except in the act of performing disagreeable pedagogic duties. Nor does the pedagogue ever see his students when they are not succumbing to Morpheus in his class room, scrimmaging at football, or "prom-trotting"; consequently, he is not aware that they may have latent interests which need encouragement. When I find myself willing to be convinced that some of my own students are more concerned about week-end parties than intellectual joys, I remember certain "snakes" of my generation in college, who have since become sober medics, or engineers, or tolerably keen business men.

I called recently on two professors in a certain small college. They were soon at the old game, accusing the college man of indifference and mental lassitude. One of them, a teacher of literature, lamented the failure of his men to show any interest in the writing of their own day. I took issue there, for I had just spent a delightful hour with some seniors in one of their rooms, discussing three English men of letters who had recently been battering on the curiosity of American audiences. In my own public speaking classes, I listen to good impromptu discussions of such things as the versatility of D'Annunzio, Mendleism, the novels of Joseph Hergesheimer, and the geology of Niagara Falls. College teachers forget that they once argued cosmic questions beyond the witching-hour. I have generalized and specified about God and ranged from sublime mysticism to blasphemous atheism all in one turn. The dinner table at college was often a colloquium of chemical, geological and biological problems. I recall that during one summer vacation two men of my acquaintance were on a geological survey, another attended every surgical clinic into which he could sneak his way. Two were in summer school, and not because they had flunked more than the permissible hours by any means. If it is true that the characteristic conversation of college men is concerned with women and football and that college women talk men and

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clothes exclusively, it is equally true that most college teachers are prone to discuss their colleagues' methods and the low scale of salaries. The "table talk" of many, when sifted from the bran of trivialities, would not fill the pages of a Christian tract.

I am not so foolish as to believe that all college youths are potential paragons of industry and intellectual enthusiasm. American colleges are interdicted by mediocrity. The indifferent, the stupid, and the lazy must be prodded and jolted, while the real truth-seekers get little guidance in their desultory wanderings. But few instructors ascertain whether indifference might not be quickened into zeal and laziness into activity. It's far easier to browbeat and "hand out goose-eggs" or, more elegantly, distribute a largess of zeros.

The college boy is tremendously interested in life. He comes to four years of study when the romance of adventuring in the world, earning a living, raising a family, and making a name are very near realities. Quiet poring over books seems an unessential pastime, pleasant enough perhaps, but *pro tem.* after all. Managing college organizations and forming lasting friendships are more nearly related to the life just outside. Small wonder such things seem primary when no one has tried to show him that bookish tastes and an interest in ideas are compatible with high finance or membership in the right club. Mr. Thomas Lamont labored to convince a Harvard audience last winter that college life is not an interim, but as fully and completely a period for activity and growth as any other four years of a man's life. We have so far failed to persuade the undergraduates in American colleges that intellectual things are lasting, that sanity and wisdom may be gained by study, tempered with understanding. Until there is proof positive for them, the college generations will flaunt their free-frolicsomeness and good-nature in bewildered faces.

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THE ANCIENT HINDU EDUCATION

By V. B. METTA

THE ancient Hindu educationists did not create a system of education, and then enmesh all their pupils in it indiscriminatingly. They attached a great deal of importance to individuality, and therefore they tried to understand the nature of each one of their pupils separately. What is the nature of an individual composed of? According to them it is composed of (a) his soul's past; (b) his heredity; (c) his surroundings and (d) his race. After understanding their pupils individually as well as they could, they then tried to develop them, each according to the bent of his own nature.

The chief instrument of the educationist is *antakarana,* for which there is no exact equivalent in any European language, but which we shall translate here as "mind"—in its most comprehensive sense. It is composed of four layers, of which the first is *chitta,* that is memory. It is the foundation on which the other layers stand. There are two kinds of memory, passive and active, of which the former is the storehouse of our experiences from which the latter selects what it requires on any particular occasion. The passive memory is automatic and needs no training, but the active memory has to be trained. The second layer is *manas,* that is the mind proper. It is the sixth sense of Hindu psychology, in which all the other senses are gathered up. The function of the mind is to receive the images of things translated into sight, sound, smell, taste and touch, and translate these again into thought-sensations. It also receives certain images directly and transmutes them into mental impressions. These sensations and impressions are the material from which thought is made. The third layer

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is *buddhi,* that is the intellect. It is the faculty which creates real thought, and also orders and disposes of the knowledge acquired by the other faculties. It performs two kinds of functions, namely, (1) the creative and synthetic; and (2) the critical and analytic. The creative and synthetic faculties comprehend, command, judge, hold and manipulate, while the critical and analytic ones distinguish, compare, classify, deduce and infer. The fourth layer of the *antakarana* has been very poorly developed in man as yet, and therefore its existence is manifested fitfully. The person who manifests its existence in a material form is called a "genius." The Hindus have left no records that they had studied this layer minutely.

The Hindus attached great importance to the capacity for mental concentration. Very few human beings concentrate their attention on anything that they see. In order to convince ourselves of this fact we have merely to collect a dozen children or adults and ask them what they have seen, say, an hour ago, and we shall find that they will all give vague answers. Hindu boys were taught the elements of *yoga,* in order that they may be able to concentrate their attention on any subject or object. The capacity for intense mental concentration is still to be found in India, in spite of the futile and destructive British system of education established there. You come across many Indians of the old type who can fix their attention on two, three and even four subjects at a time. The concentration of attention is necessary not only for keeping the mind awake but also for cultivating the memory. Memory-training was considered to be of the very greatest importance by Hindus and other Oriental peoples, and therefore Oriental littérateurs and philosophers of old times, possessed such wonderful memories that they knew whole volumes of their great poets and philosophers by heart.

The modern method of teaching by snippets would never have appealed to ancient Hindus. By this method boys are taught a subject most superficially in five years, which

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they can learn pretty thoroughly in one year. The Hindus taught schoolboys only one or two subjects at a time, but these subjects were taught so well and so thoroughly, that those who had studied them became not mere mines of information, but really cultured beings. The modern mind's shallowness, discursive lightness and fickleness is most probably the result of this system of teaching by snippets. In order to justify their methods, modern teachers say that the mind of the child is tired by being fixed on only one subject for a long time. But then how was it that ancient children, whether Hindu, or Chinese, or Greek were not tired? Either they possessed better and healthier minds, or what is more probable, their interest in their subject was so thoroughly aroused that they were not tired of fixing their attention on it for a long time.

The greatest difficulty of the educationist has always been the imparting of moral and religious education. Present-day western nations have not been able to solve the problem satisfactorily. It is foolish to try to educate anybody by means of moral and religious text-books, because the instruction of the mind can not influence the heart. And it is the heart which has to be trained for making the moral education effective. Text-books make the thinking of high things mechanical, and are therefore inoperative for good. The ancient Hindus relied on the teacher to influence his pupils morally and spiritually, The Hindu *guru* (the word signifies a teacher in the intellectual as well as in the moral and spiritual sense) commanded implicit obedience and admiration from his pupils by his knowledge, wisdom and sanctity. In order to educate the young men placed in his charge, he took into consideration their (a) emotional capacity; (b) formed habits and associations; and (c) *swabhava,* which may be translated as "nature." He never ordered them to do anything. He simply suggested to them by personal example, daily converse and the reading of the Sanskrit classics what was best and noblest to think, feel and act. Herein lies the difference between ancient Hindu

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and modern western methods. At home and at school a boy in England is subjected to a very strict discipline and so he behaves morally. His good behavior however proceeds not from the love of right-doing, but from fear. And so immediately he feels himself free from this discipline, he "sows his wild oats," proving clearly thereby that such discipline is ineffective for educating anybody morally.

The Hindus never believed that boys can become pious by being taught the dogmas of a religion at school, because the dogmas thus taught are only mechanically accepted and do not therefore influence the conduct of the students. That religious education based on the study of text-books has failed on the whole to influence the conduct of Europeans and Americans is clear from the life which many of them lead after leaving their schools and universities. Religion has to be lived and not learnt as a creed if it is really to influence our thoughts and actions. In order to live a religious life the Hindus invented a number of physical and spiritual exercises. These exercises made a man physically strong, and at the same time enabled him to fix his attention for a long time on any subject without flagging, and also to control his emotions and desires. The Hindus have always considered that the man who is master of himself is more capable of being religious than the man whose impulses and desires are unbridled.

TO A CRUST OF COAL

By JEROME ROMAN

I would forego the golden peak of being
For your mean oblivion in the ditch,
The impress of godhood effaced—
One with the sod.
The golden peak of being. . . .
That in my final hour
I might, like you,
Rise on transcending wings of fire
And, dying, pass to power.

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TRAINING FOR CITIZENSHIP

By HON. JAMES J. DAVIS

NO public cry today is louder than that which Americans in all parts of the nation are making against unrestricted or unlimited immigration. There is a decided demand for a closing of our gates to all immigrant classes from the old world. Two major reasons are given, one being that of widespread unemployment, and the other the great amount of attention that has been attracted toward red and communist activities in not only the United States but every civilized nation in the world. The first objection can be but temporary. Already conditions of employment have vastly improved over those obtaining a year ago. The danger from the other source is not, however, any less today than it ever was. Not that the movement has gained any rapid headway, but it is a disturbing element in our industrial life, which as long as tolerated or permitted to continue will prevent the permanent keeping of industrial harmony.

Unfortunately in viewing the work of reds and communists in America many, it seems safe to say a majority, of those who have the welfare of America at heart have taken a mistaken view of the subject. They have branded the alien as dangerous. The alien is not dangerous. America and its fine institutions have been made possible by immigration. That means that the alien has been partly responsible for our progress. It is not the alien that is dangerous, it is ignorance—ignorance of law, civil, criminal and economic; ignorance of language, and ignorance of our institutions and the principles upon which they were founded.

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The first immigrants to America formed the basis of our nation, which we count the grandest in the world. They founded it upon a desire for more liberal law, not more license. It is the mistaken idea of too many of our alien population and of our new immigrants that our country is a land of liberty through license. We know it to be a land of liberty through law, and the law is paramount.

This ignorance and not the alien is to be feared. It should not be inferred, however, that we should have unrestricted or unlimited immigration now. There is a huge task before us in eliminating the ignorance from the aliens now with us. (This also applies to some of our own.) We cannot permit our legion of ignorance to swell and not provide for an efficient means with which to combat it.

There is not a day goes by in which the Secretary of Labor does not receive petitions and requests—and some of them from American citizens—urging the admission of immigrants unlawfully. Not only that but every day cases come up in which aliens have unlawfully entered the country, and no doubt many of them get away with it. But what can be the mental attitude of an alien whose first admission into our country—whose first introduction to our superior institutions of law, learning and protection—is a violation of our statutes? Can they have any greater respect for the other institutions of which we are so proud?

As an illustration of what the Department of Labor has to contend with in the enforcing of the immigration laws for the protection of the United States, the following case, which deals with a family of aliens who are about to be deported, is typical. Thirteen persons actively interested themselves in an endeavor to secure the Department's consent to the family permanently remaining in the United States. Most, if not all, of the interested persons being American citizens. Statements made indicate that almost four thousand dollars were expended in an endeavor to set aside or violate the law.

The family, which consisted of husband, wife, and three

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children, arrived at the port of New York during the period of the former administration. Upon examination the father was found to be afflicted with double hernia; the mother, chronic valvular disease of the heart; and the two younger daughters, feeble-minded. In the testimony first given the father stated that he was sixty-one years of age and the two children twins, ten years of age, the latter bearing out the statement of ages found in the birth certificates which were presented. Later the father testified that he was but forty-two years of age, and when it was suggested to him that information had been filed with the Board of Special Inquiry that the children were not ten years of age but six and seven, he changed his testimony to coincide with the latter, stating that the birth certificates which he obtained were fraudulent. In this connection, the age of the children who were certified to be feeble-minded is a material factor, since a difference of three or four years between actual and mental age at that time of life would determine whether the children were in reality mentally deficient.

It is, however, very unusual for a parent to overstate the ages of his children when immigrating to the United States, although it is common for them to understate in order to secure lower passage rates.

In spite of the fact that the aliens were certified as mentally and physically deficient by the Public Health Service, this family was admitted by officials of the former administration upon bond.

Every lawful immigrant should be received in a dignified manner, with a handclasp of welcome. We do not want the immigration that enters in violation of law. We do want the immigrant who will make a good law abiding citizen, and we want him to know it. But we want no others.

We have heard of the fraud practiced at our ports of entry. There is undoubtedly a good deal of it in other large cities—fraud upon the ignorant alien. Usually it is carried

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on by one of the same race or nationality as the newly arrived. It is done because of the ignorance of one and a disregard of law on the part of the other. The alien or immigrant is the victim because of ignorance and because we have no laws strong enough to apprehend the criminal and to protect those needing protection.

There is pending before both Houses of Congress a bill which, if passed, will make improvements in our naturalization system and so enlarge the Bureau of Naturalization of the Department of Labor that it will be able to do a great deal more for the foreign-born, potential citizens of our country. The principal change which this law will make in the naturalization laws—that most affecting the welfare of the alien—is the provision for enrollment of every alien for the purposes of education. It is proposed that every alien enroll and then report periodically so that his progress in education and the desirability of admitting him into our citizenship ranks will be noted. America will then teach them what it expects of its citizens and will direct and approve their training.

Some complaint has been heard against this enrollment, or registration as some prefer to call it, it being asserted that our Government of freedom was reverting back to the espionage of older civilizations. Nothing is further from the thoughts of those who are engineering the passage of this legislation through Congress than that the United States should inaugurate a system of espionage. A careful study of the provisions of the bill will relieve any anxiety on that score from the minds of the most sceptical. It can be pointed out that American citizens must register if they exercise the privileges of that citizenship and every safeguard is placed upon the vote to see that none use it fraudulently. No one objects to registration for voting purposes —the privilege of exercising citizenship—as being in any way an espionage or spy system.

The enrollment which is contemplated will be no more far reaching than that of registration of citizens, so far as

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its effect upon personal liberty is concerned. It will be far reaching, however, in that it will provide as great a protection to the institution of citizenship as the registration system already in use furnishes the institution of franchise. Also it will grant a measure of protection to the alien himself never before attempted, and in no other way possible.

It will protect citizenship because it provides that following the lapse of a certain period of time, every alien admitted to citizenship must be able to understand the English language. Right here we take a big step forward for there is nothing which can create more dissension or distrust than that the citizenry shall not be able within its ranks to hold social intercourse and discuss and advise each other upon the important economic and industrial problems of the day. A knowledge of a common language which must be the language of the nation to which one owes allegiance will weld the bands of friendship, mutual help and harmony.

The new law will also remove one of the great obstacles now in the path of many desiring citizenship but who are unable to do so because of the requirement of the present law that they produce two witnesses of five years' actual acquaintance, competent to testify for them. Thousands find it impossible to produce these witnesses because during that length of time they may have moved into some other jurisdiction or the witnesses who might have been available may themselves have changed their places of residence. In either case if the witnesses are produced, it is at great expense to the alien. The new legislation will save time, inconvenience and expense incidental to procuring witnesses in that it abolishes the witness requirement and in its place substitutes merely the presentation of the enrollment card with subsequent report notations thereon. The records of the Bureau of Naturalization indicate that hundreds now cannot get competent witnesses.

It is surprising how many petitions are refused and even a number of certificates cancelled because of falsification of

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witnesses. Here as at our gates we had better exclude all those whose entrance into our ranks is attempted by fraud or violation of the law. The opponents of this measure try to make one believe that it will make it more difficult for the alien to secure citizenship. It will make it extremely hard for the alien to be naturalized unlawfully. To those who comply with the law it will be vastly easier and less complicated than ever before, as he will go to court for his certificate of citizenship with the assurance and the evidence on his person, that his petition will not be denied but that he will be immediately received into the ranks on an equal with the oldest citizen in the country. A court session will be but a solemnization of the most important step in his career.

The immigration laws of the United States, among other provisions, have been designed to protect our national wealth from the inroads which might be made upon it as a result of charity which must be paid out when alien residents become public charges. In thus protecting our national wealth many unfortunate women and children and incapacitated men are subject to deportation to the country to whose government they owe allegiance. We can not say that this is an injustice for the scales of justice are as a balance, in one must be weighed the evidence of the right to stay on the part of the alien and in the other, the detriment to American society and the cost to American citizens of their support. While in justice to America, the alien should be deported upon the grounds of public charge, a more sympathetic understanding of the problem, the hardships and the ambitions of our foreign brothers and sisters often dictate a desire on the part of the officers of the law to permit them to stay. If some provision had only been made whereby American institutions and national wealth should not be taxed, by their misfortune, it would not be necessary now to deport thousands to the land of their birth. The proposed legislation will take care of all this. It will give the Federal government the right and the authority to use, care

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for and educate unfortunate aliens coming within these classes. An alien mother with four or five small children who may be penniless upon the death by accident or disease of the father, would be properly provided for. The children would receive an education which would fit them for lives of usefulness to themselves and to us. I can imagine just how that father felt when he brought his family here. He saved and scraped and worked to get funds to bring them over here, believing this to be an opportunity to better the conditions of his brood. He complied with our laws, worked for us and did everything in his power to be one of us and then before the time arrived when he could secure admission to our citizenship was called away leaving a family subject to return to the poverty and perhaps comparative inopportunity of the home which he left.

The program for the betterment of the conditions of the alien and for the protection of himself and family cannot be carried on without funds. Consequently the alien must be required upon his enrollment to pay a small fee and each year upon his annual report to the local registrar to make a similar contribution toward the purposes for which the fund is created. Very few will find the payment of the fee burdensome, especially so when they realize that it is not a means of taxation and does not contribute to the national wealth of the United States except in that the results which flow from it, the better education and citizenship, must be an asset to all. The alien as a rule receives a fairly good salary. The amount which is returned to them in education—making them better fitted for their jobs and capable of earning larger salaries, is mighty good insurance. Further, it is contemplated that power and authority shall be vested in the administrator to grant an extension of time or the non-payment of the fee entirely in all meritorious cases where it is shown that such payment of a fee would work a hardship upon the registrant.

In general the revision of our citizenship laws in the manner suggested in the legislation now pending before Con-

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gress will band together thirteen million foreign born in America as one great fraternal society, the purposes of which will be for mutual benefit and protection. No fraternal society has for its aims a more noble purpose than that which will be created by the new citizenship legislation —better citizenship, national pride and protection of home and family. The fees which they pay—every cent is to be used for self-help. The Government wishes to encourage the alien to help himself—it does not desire to swell the coffers of national wealth at the expense of the foreign born, but to return in usefulness every penny thriftily saved for self advancement.

QUESTION AND ANSWER

By DYSART MCMULLEN

O tender love! who knew not tears,
Whose days were sun and light and air,
Who held the secret of the years,
All ecstasies beyond compare;
Who had no hate, no loss, no lust—
Why must your body come to dust?
Why must the earth's green summer pall
Silence your laughter and your call?

O tender heart I left behind,
Whose days are dark because of me!
There is no sorrow I can find
Upon the measures of this sea;
Nor any joys save undefiled
And fitting for a little child.
I have but journeyed into earth
To solve the mysteries of birth.

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AMERICAN CAPITAL AND FRENCH COLONIES

By F. FRANCOIS-MARSAL

AMERICAN friends have often asked me why, since the end of the war, there has been so little commercial activity between the United States and France. There is such a feeling of sympathy, they say, between the two peoples: there exists such an old and deep feeling of perfect moral and intellectual understanding that it ought to be expressed by practical deeds and by collaboration in the financial, industrial and commercial fields.

It would seem that the war, by the contact which it effected between the two countries, ought to have still more accentuated the wish to work in common; it ought to have multiplied the opportunities and assured the possibilities for such co-operation. In fact, one is astonished to find that since the armistice there are many assurances of the French-American friendship, but less business relations than before 1914. To the question thus stated by our friends, and which is, I know, in the minds of so many who are running business in the United States, I think the answer should be a psychological analysis of the financial situation due to the war.

Before 1914, there was very little difference between the general economical situation in the United States and that of France. Nevertheless, the force of a good reputation and the amplitude of savings secured to France a certain priority in the money market, which was made clear by the fact, for instance, that American railway bonds were often and largely financed by the Paris market.

The part which France, as well as England, played before 1914 as the world's banker cannot be held now anymore by our country, as she must devote all her present

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resources to restore her devastated territories, and she will have to face afterwards, and that for many years, the necessity of redeeming her war debts.

On the other hand, the United States finds itself, since the war, by far the most powerful country in the world, economically and financially.

It is altogether natural, in the light of this change, that the manner of looking at things and the method of procedure should be entirely different for the two countries, as well as for their business men. The rich nation, like the rich man, has a social role—nay, more, a human role—to fulfill. It is to spread wealth and to enable labor to benefit by this wealth as far as possible. Since the origin of the world, only one way has been found of bettering, little by little, the condition of humanity, and that is the alliance of capital and labor; the binding of these two forces has allowed the realization of the few improvements humanity has recorded.

In particular, a rich country whose money enjoys a premium over the money of other countries ought to favor labor by absorbing as largely as possible the products of working countries with low exchange, and especially those things that can be absorbed without disturbing the national economy of the buying country.

Then, and in the same line of thought, the country with a high exchange which possesses abundant metallic supplies must, for its benefit and also for the greater benefit of all, bring the help of its capital to labor and to the exploitation of wealth in countries where the will to work exists, where legislation insures security of business and where war circumstances alone cause a temporary lowering in the financial situation.

Incidentally, a country which thus amply finances labor in other countries, in which it has confidence and which are temporarily straitened, fulfills exactly the general role which devolves upon it in the economic plan, and at the same time secures prosperity and development of wealth

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among its own citizens. There is no doubt, indeed, that, looked at in this light and considered from this angle, the whole of the economic and financial action of a country is expressed by a productive investment and by lucrative results for citizens of the lending country.

Surely these generalizations apply to the United States and France; though here, as in most cases, the practical application appears not an easy task.

It is due to the pre-war situation, that we have spoken of above, that France has never been a borrowing country. She has never had foreign debts. She has always been used to personal effort; she has always lived on her own and through herself. She knows very well that she is now straitened, but she knows also that these pecuniary difficulties are momentary and that the conditions of her general economy give her the certainty of a prompt and complete restoration.

Nevertheless, French business men understand that the entire effort, which must be made alone by themselves with their own national resources, is so great that general prosperity would suffer and that the years to come would witness a serious retarding of the economic development of the country. Nevertheless, I admit that it is difficult for foreign capital to find employment in France, other than the bonds which are guaranteed by the state, the departments and the cities, or new construction and other big enterprises to be undertaken on a large scale.

As regards old existing affairs, real estate is in small holdings and all the great mines and metallurgical enterprises have been financed solely in France. These are entirely owned by French people and, moreover, the holdings are spread very widely over the entire population. It is almost impossible to invest foreign capital in existing French enterprises under such conditions that the buyers, I should not say should have control of the undertaking, but should at least have the possibility of a sufficient

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representation to entitle them to a direct superintendence over the interests involved.

But, if the question appears as a difficult one to solve as regards European France, it is not the same thing, in my opinion, when it deals with the dependent territories outside Europe, and especially for French colonies in North Africa and Occidental Africa. Here one has to face a situation absolutely different.

First of all, and if we purposely limit this study to African possessions and protectorates, it is well to notice that the French political line of conduct has not varied for more than half a century. It was a little before 1830 that the government of Charles X prepared an expedition to Algiers; from 1830 to 1840, all the efforts of Louis-Philippe were a continuation of the work of his predecessor. The Second Empire under Napoleon the Third expanded French influence little by little. Occidental Africa was reached. The French pioneers proceeded up the stream of the Senegal and reached the basin of the Niger. That great work was admirably completed in the period from 1870 to today by the formation of an assemblage which, composed of very different parts with dissimilar political organizations and separate economic regimes, has succeeded, nevertheless, in forming a whole which is practically a federal state and which constitutes a very strong and substantial extension of the French European territories.

Quite recently, the extreme importance of these French territories has been made conspicuous by the fact that Mr. Millerand, President of the Republic, made it a point of travelling *en personne* all over Africa from Morocco to Tunis through the three large Algerian provinces, whilst at that very moment very serious French interests were discussed at the Conference of Genoa.

Those in France and in the world who have expressed their astonishment over this fact did not realize the extreme importance which the North African territories represent. Historically, these countries have been among the richest

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of the Old World and have constituted what was called "Rome's granary."

These vast territories, made barren by the Arabian occupation, are restored again to production and to economic life. Corn, oranges, fruit, vegetables, olives and wine are the most important productions of Algeria, Tunis and Morocco. The peanut, which is the chief base in the manufacturing of the most important lubricants (stearine, glycerine), the oil-palm, india-rubber and cocoa are abundant in the valley of the Senegal, of the Niger, and in all the coast territories. There also—and that attempt will be made sooner or later—the cultivation of cotton can be widely developed.

In this huge estate, where order, safety, ease of communications, respect of property, and work are secured, thanks to France, it is quite easy for the initiative of friendly countries to come and exercise itself in a fruitful way.

What ought to be done to bring this about? We may speak out loud. It would be sufficient that bankers, engineers, men of initiative and of action from the United States should take the trouble to come to French Africa in order to get acquainted with it, to study it, to understand personally the possibilities for investment and profit. The co-operation between the men of action of the United States and the work of development which France pursues in this country is easy to effect and would be most fruitful.

There is, since the United States have achieved their independence, an instinctive sentiment of profound understanding between the two peoples. This attraction has been strengthened by the common sufferings of the great war; it should render contact easier and make the work more effective, and it does not exclude, on the contrary, the care for proper and material interest.

Associates, American and French, can easily find on the French colonial ground a formula which should produce happy results by developing labor, investments of capital, and the latent wealth of the country, the development and

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expansion of which must enrich men of enterprise in this field, which is but justice and should also secure a little happiness to a larger portion of humanity.

Must it be added that no consideration, even remote, of a political nature can darken the horizon, as may have been the case sometimes for other combinations which have been studied with other partners and which did not lead to good results. No political conflict, order and safety made sure, fruitful work coming into the general setting of human progress, large profits granted to the initiators of the work: such is the program which certain men of large spirit may set in motion between the two countries.

A few of these ideas, I know, have already been launched by American personalities of great vision. My aim, in presenting these thoughts to the readers of THE FORUM, is simply to show that every American initiative of this kind will find among French business men a sympathetic echo, and that success is assured here, as in many other fields, to those who will have given proof of a maximum of audacity and tenacity.

THE REVELERS

By ARTHUR WALLACE PEACH

All day beneath the pines
  The sunbeams dance,
From swirling veils of gold
  Eyes luring glance.

In bacchic revels old
  The bright day wanes
While choric wind-flutes play
  The dancing strains.

  The shadows pray
At dusk, beneath the moon
For those who make so light
  Of love by day!

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POLITICAL LESSONS FROM TARIFFS

By EDWARD G. RIGGS

LAWYERS, in their efforts to re-emphasize their arguments, employ the best precedents at their command. Very often these precedents run back for a period of many generations. Do our politicians follow the same rule? Have the Republican politicians at Washington in charge of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Bill given due thought to tariff precedents in our country? The tariff question was among the very first subjects discussed by the First Congress of our country, and for more than a hundred years has been the one subject that has never been finally settled. Nullification, secession, banks, slavery, reconstruction, populism, and free silver have had their times of fierce discussion, and have all been forever settled.

This is not an article on tariff schedules. I know as much about tariff schedules as I do about Sanskrit—nothing. It is an article which endeavors to portray the political results in our country as based upon tariff legislation. The two great idols of the high protectionists of the nation were Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and William McKinley, of Ohio. Henry Clay, as we all know, was the great Whig leader of his party, just as William McKinley in later years became the great Republican leader of his party. Both, from early youth, had made diligent study of the tariff from a high protection standpoint. Henry Clay, the idol of the high protectionist Whigs, never attained the ambition of his life, the Presidency. William McKinley, the champion of the high protectionists of his day, attained the Presidency, but not because of his advocacy of high protective tariff legislation. As a matter of fact, he was one

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of the numerous Republican Congressmen who went down to defeat in 1890 because of the very tariff bill which bore his name.

It is not necessary to go back to Henry Clay's time of a hundred years ago to recount the political tragedies of the tariff. In 1876 Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, because of his battle-cry "Tariff for revenue only," came within an ace of winning the Presidency for the Democrats. In 1880, General Winfield S. Hancock, Democratic candidate for the Presidency, went down to defeat because of his belief that the tariff was "a local question only." The tariff did not play quite as important a part in the campaign of 1884 between Blaine and Cleveland, but it was a mighty factor in 1888, when the country defeated Mr. Cleveland because of his advocacy of the Mills Bill. In 1892, President Harrison was defeated for re-election because of the disfavor which the country felt toward the McKinley tariff law which President Harrison had signed two years before. Then came the Wilson tariff law which, together with the sixteen-to-one free silver ratio—principally the latter issue—brought about the defeat of Bryan in 1896 and the election of McKinley. Then came the Dingley tariff law, which was not considered a very drastic determining political factor because the free silver question was still in the air, and the money question again subordinated the tariff question; yet it was largely moribund by 1900 because of the Federal legislation making gold the standard of the country. With the death of President McKinley in the Fall of 1901, and the advent of President Roosevelt, nothing was done to revive discussion over tariff matters, but with the election of President Roosevelt in 1904 he made it known that he desired to call an extraordinary session of Congress so that the Dingley tariff bill might be taken up and revised. On the strong advice of Representative Joseph G. Cannon, President Roosevelt did not push his decision and it was made plain at the time that Representative Cannon had had quite enough of tariff matters when

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he recalled his defeat in 1890 because of his advocacy of the McKinley tariff law. Roosevelt himself on numerous occasions stated that he did not know anything about the tariff, thought it a very dangerous issue to meddle with, and he always refused to permit it to enter the Sanhedrim of his political thought and calculations. So the Dingley tariff ran on until the advent of President Taft. Thereupon the Payne-Aldrich bill became the tariff law of the country; and this law, without the slightest doubt, did more than any one single factor to disintegrate the Republican Party and to bring about the division between the Progressives and the Stand-Patters which resulted in the two national conventions of 1912, where Taft was re-nominated, only to have Roosevelt nominated as his opponent in a rival convention; and it was but a natural mathematical solution to know that President Wilson, with the Republican Party split in twain, would be the successful candidate. The political situation in 1910 and 1912 was identical with that of 1890 and 1892 with this difference: In 1890 and 1892, the progressive Republicans did not leave their party because of dissatisfaction with the McKinley tariff law—they simply joined the Democrats in administering a rebuke to the high protectionists responsible for that law. In 1910 and 1912, they broke with their party entirely and actively. The result was that in 1910 the Democrats, after a lapse of sixteen years, captured the House, elected Governors to five normally Republican states, Mr. Wilson being one of the beneficiaries, and in 1912 elected Mr. Wilson President and again in 1916, and held Congress until 1918.

In 1916, the division between the Progressive and Stand-Pat Republicans was not entirely healed. And I am not writing as a Republican, a Democrat, a Socialist, or a Prohibitionist. Perhaps, though, I am trying to make a gesture to the effect that top-notch political wisdom does not furnish your adversary with the ammunition which, in his heart and soul, he desires. Immediately after the first election of President Wilson, there came the Underwood

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tariff bill. Publicists, men conversant with tariff affairs, and others with "suppositious knowledge" have declared that had not the European War of 1914 intervened, the Underwood tariff law as "a deficiency revenue law" would have brought about a commercial cataclysm such as had not been seen in this country since that of 1857.

In telling briefly the story of the tragedies of the tariff, it is only necessary for the information of this generation to tell in sequential form what has occurred personally and politically within the last fifty-five years. The Civil War closed with what were considered burdensome taxes. The high cost of living in those days was quite on a par with those in these days. The Republican National Convention of 1868, in nominating for the first time General Grant for the Presidency, announced that taxation should be equalized in the interest of labor. The Democrats in the same year, in nominating Horatio Seymour, declared for a "tariff for revenue on foreign imports." The Democratic-Liberal Republican platform of 1872 had a sort of hodge-podge platform which was intended to cover all the ills of human life.

In 1876, the Democrats, in nominating Tilden, demanded "that all custom house taxation shall be only for revenue," while the Republicans, in nominating Rutherford B. Hayes, declared, "The revenue necessary for current expenditures and that the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country."

It is not necessary here to speak of the closeness of the election between Tilden and Hayes, nor how Hayes was seated by the decision of the Electoral Commission by one vote, but it should be stated that the tariff, together with many distractions and rivalries and strife in the Republican Party in General Grant's second term, led very nearly to the election of a Democratic President eleven years after

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the war. This was considered an anti-climax, in view of the fact that the Democratic Party as a whole during the Civil War was not held in high esteem.

It is easily recalled how Garfield in 1880 was, in the early days of the campaign, alarmed over the apathy of his party and his apparent fear lest he be defeated by the Democratic candidate, General Hancock. It was not until General Hancock uttered his famous pronunciamento, declaring the tariff to be a matter of local or territorial concern only to the voters of the United States, that Garfield was assured of his triumph.

The Democratic platform of 1884 denounced "the abuses of the existing tariff" and with the war-cry of 1868 and 1876 for a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports and a tariff for revenue only, the Democrats, aided by the factions and strife in the Republican Party, elected Cleveland to the Presidency by a little more than 1,000 votes.

Mr. Cleveland, elected fundamentally on a platform for tariff reform, was not a popular President with leading Democrats. He was unacquainted with the vast majority of the leaders of his party, who were especially opposed to his civil service reform ideas. Mr. Cleveland desired very greatly to put into operation the tenets of the Democratic doctrine of tariff for revenue only, but, while the Democrats had a majority of the House of Representatives in 1886 and 1888, the Senate was Republican. Nevertheless, contrary to the advice of his then closest adviser, the late William C. Whitney, of New York, he decided, on the eve of the national convention of 1888, to present what the Republicans called the Mills free trade tariff bill.

On April 2, 1888, Roger Q. Mills, of Texas, chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, reported his bill "in response to the recommendations of Mr. Cleveland," as he said. The Democratic National Convention was to be held in June. Mr. Whitney and others advised Mr. Cleveland not to go ahead with the Mills Bill, as it would not give the voters time to digest mentally the bill

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before election day that year. Mr. Cleveland declined to accept the advice. While the Mills Bill passed the House, 162 ayes to 149 noes, it was sent to the Senate, and as the Senate was Republican, the bill slept the sleep of oblivion. Meanwhile, the Democratic National Convention was held in June, 1888, and unanimously "indorsed the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last annual message, 1887, as the correct interpretation of the platform upon the question of tariff reduction."

The Republican National Convention of that year was a six-day affair, an unusually prolonged convention. Representative William McKinley was chairman of the Committee on Resolutions in that convention and the tariff plank was as follows:

"We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe; we will support the interests of America. We accept the issue, and confidently appeal to the people for their judgment. The protective system must be maintained. Its abandonment has always been followed by general disaster to all interests, except those of the usurer and the sheriff. We denounce the Mills Bill as destructive of the general business, the labor and the farming interests of the country, and we heartily indorse the consistent and patriotic action of the Republican representatives in Congress opposing its passage."

General Harrison, the candidate of the Republicans that year, easily defeated President Cleveland. In recurring to the fact that in 1888 Cleveland was defeated for re-election by General Harrison, Harrison receiving 233 and Cleveland 168 electoral votes, it should be stated that that election seemed to warrant the Republicans in determining that a very stiff and pronounced tariff protection bill should be passed as the principles of their party. William McKinley, the famous Congressman from Ohio, was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of a

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Congress made up in 1890 of 169 Republicans and 161 Democrats and 45 Republican and 37 Democratic United States Senators, and on October 1, 1890, President Harrison signed the McKinley Bill. As a result of that bill, McKinley and scores of other Republicans, Joseph G. Cannon among them, were defeated in the November Congressional elections of the same year.

The McKinley Bill, as was shown in the 1890 Congress elections, had not been well received by the country. It was thought to be too extreme, and President Harrison stated to the late Francis Hendricks, Collector of the Port of New York, confidential adviser of President Harrison in New York State, and to others, including myself, early in 1892, that the McKinley Bill would defeat him or any other Republican candidate for the Presidency.

It has been one of the myths of American political history that President Harrison was defeated for re-election in 1892 because of political conditions created by the Homestead strike. That strike had little or nothing to do with the defeat of Harrison. His defeat was due entirely to the McKinley Tariff Law, as can be very easily demonstrated. Those who are inclined to differ may look with slight satisfaction on the presidential figures in the State of Pennsylvania in the campaigns of 1888 and 1892. In the former year they were: Republican, 526,091; Democratic, 446,633; and in the latter year, the year of the Cleveland-Harrison campaign and Homestead strike, Republican, 516,011; Democratic, 452,264. These figures disclose that the Homestead strike had very little effect on the vote in Pennsylvania, where the Republican vote was reduced from 1888 by 10,080 in 1892, and the Democratic vote was increased from 1888 by only 5,631 in 1892. Furthermore, the Homestead strike as a political factor could not have had any momentous strength, as shown in the difference of the states carried by Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Harrison in 1888 and those carried by the two gentlemen in 1892.

It is true that there were factional disputes and quarrels

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in the Republican Party which had been accumulating for many years, but the dissatisfaction over tariff matters was the fulcrum. So, I am quite convinced that the utterances of President Harrison and those of his personal confidant, advisor and friend, the late Francis Hendricks, for many years Republican leader of Onondaga County, New York State, to others and myself to the effect that the McKinley Bill was the principal factor in defeating the Republican national ticket in 1892, was by far the determining influence of that election.

But let me quote from a speech of the late Senator Jacob H. Gallinger of New Hampshire, delivered in the Senate on May 19, 1894, speaking of the campaign of 1892. Senator Gallinger said:

> "Prior to September, 1892, the Harrison Administration had concluded about twenty reciprocal treaties, and they had been proved of great advantage to our country, as well as to the foreign countries. We were obtaining sugar, molasses, tea, coffee and hides free of duty; and found new, valuable and growing markets in those countries for our pork, flour and other breadstuffs, clothing, tools, hardware, engines, machinery and many other things; but, because under the McKinley law such treaties could not be concluded with Great Britain, for the reason that she had nothing, according to Lord Salisbury, with which to reciprocate, the reciprocity clause was denounced by free traders in unmeasured terms, in their platforms and newspapers, and by all their speakers. For 21 months before the reciprocity treaties went into effect, our export trade with those countries amounted to $25,283,464. In 21 months after these conventions were concluded our exports to those countries were $42,866,547, an increase of $17,583,083, or about 70 per cent. This increase was composed largely of flour, meats and other food products, and manufactures of cotton, leather, iron, glass, machinery, etc. It was in vain that protectionists held up these twenty treaties and this great enlargement thereby of the foreign markets, calling for our productions; and the great advantage to our working people in getting sugar and so many other necessaries of life, free of duty—'reciprocity,' said the free trader, 'was grossly unfair to Great Britain, and was unconstitutional, a fraud and a humbug.' This was iterated and reiterated, day by day, for many months, with what results let November, 1892, and the consequent present Democratic Congress make known."

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Not a word about the Homestead strike as a cause for the defeat of Harrison and the re-election of a Democratic Congress.

Perhaps President McKinley, at Buffalo, September 5, 1901, the day before he was assassinated, and chairman of the Harrison Convention at Minneapolis in 1892, recalled the belief of President Harrison that the McKinley Bill was too extreme, for in that address, the last address the martyred President delivered, he said:

> "If perchance some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?"

President McKinley made this address to the Commissioners of the Dominion of Canada and the British Colonies, the French Colonies, the Republics of Mexico, and of Central and South America, and the Commissioners of Cuba and Porto Rico, who were gathered there to discuss reciprocity measures.

President McKinley, in that utterance, evidently accepted the maxim of the ancient philosopher to the effect that the lessons of the past should be a guide to wise men for future action.

OVERLAND

By KATHRYN WHITE RYAN

O cities that fell in my heart,
Cities I trusted!
How calm and stately you stand,
How still in the spired sunlight;
Peaceful as marble pronged graveyards!
Roaring and flashing,
These metallic train windows,
Like memories, cities!
Hurriedly graze you.

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THE GARDEN

By JOSEPH HAMBLEN SEARS

THERE is a garden scarcely thirty miles from town. It is divided into two parts: one about fifty by thirty feet with two grass paths and a sun dial at their intersection, the whole surrounded by a wall; the other, about twenty-five by fifteen, also surrounded by a wall. In the partition that separates the two parts there is a glass door, making a passage way from one to the other. In the larger section the earth for a depth of two feet was thrown out and replaced with a foot of good manure and a second foot of healthy top-soil. Now it is full of flowers—larkspur, phlox, heliotrope, peonies, roses, asters. The other was covered with rugs, and on the walls were laid shelves. Now it is full of other flowers—history, biography, fiction, poetry, science. You can pass easily from one part to the other. In the warm sunshine you can dig the fingers of your hands into the earth and set out roots and pull up foolish weeds. In the cold days you can dig the fingers of your mind into the books on the shelves and watch the flowers of the ages develop and bloom in your own mental soil.

Sometimes it is difficult for a novice to tell a weed from a little shoot of phlox. Sometimes, too, it is difficult for the novice to tell a weed from a flower in the other part of the garden. But as he watches and studies, season by season, year by year, he begins to be able to tell the difference between the wheat and the chaff in these two parts of the garden. Sometimes he walks on the green paths and gazes at the beautiful blossoms and wonders how on earth they grow and develop from the seed set in the ground. Sometimes he sits on the other side of the wall and gazes upon

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the books and wonders how on earth they grew and developed from an idea conceived in the minds of their writers.

Both mean a great deal to the resident of the garden. Both keep him from despair, from unhappiness and from the jumble that goes on outside the walls. When he arrives at the outer door after a day of struggle to get enough to produce another meal, another plant and another book both greet him with something that is pleasant. The many colors along the brown walls are cheering. He begins to think at once of all that is behind them. He can see the pleasure and the strain that each one of them has entailed from the conception of the idea to the publication of the volume. Passing through the glass door, the many colors spread out between the grass paths cause a smile even on the darkest days. They are all so straight and prim and so amazingly well made. They all have meant so much that nobody understands since they were begun in the seed down under the top-soil close to the health-giving manure.

As the days of the spring and summer pass, the plants grow and blossom at their appointed time and many things appear to one who works among them. Here is a vigorous peony which spreads like molasses all over the place, and under it is a root of larkspur following out its mission in life as it struggles like the Kaiser to get a place in the sun. It bends sideways, the leaves turn in the direction of the light, and after a fierce struggle the distorted stem blossoms into flower often more perfect in color because of the concentration of the whole plant in a single stem.

It is interesting to discover the same thing among the flowers of history. Think of Henley distorted by some inexplicable decree of nature at his birth. He struggled all his life through to get to the light; and in the end his crippled stem brought forth flowers that hold their high place in the garden of verse. His head seemed out of all proportion to his crippled limbs. Many a day and month he spent in hospitals, trying hard, hoping against hope, to get well. And lying there so, he wrote:

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In the fell clutch of circumstance
I have not winced nor cried aloud.

In the latter part of his life he used to live on the shores of the British Channel and would move about his little house by taking hold of the chairs and tables in order to get around. In conversation he was usually caustic and bitter because of the handicap of his life, but when he wrote there came out of his twisted stem vigorous words and ideas to help his less stricken and less courageous reader. There, too, is Robert Stevenson wandering over the earth in search of some climate that would let him breathe, lying in bed in Scotland, in the Adirondacks, in the South Seas, smoking cigarettes that helped the disease fill his lungs with everything that clogged the machinery—lying there and writing that we should all be as happy as kings because the world was so full, writing letters of the most genial philosophy that now, long after his death, we, who live pleasantly in gardens and move about with healthy bodies, are beginning to read again and again.

Some of the plants climb along the wall and over the little arch. A piece of clematis has done this, and when it is in blossom it looks like the white head of a distinguished old lady. If it were not for the wall and the trellis and the tree such plants would crawl along the ground out of sight, and would seldom blossom because they could not reach the sunlight. And just next to them grows the golden glow, tall and stiff and straight, working its way up through everything to an appalling height, pushing other plants and weeds aside and gaily turning out hundreds of yellow blossoms, no matter what the soil, the weather or the surrounding growth.

It reminds one of Mr. Buonarrotti of Casentino, otherwise known as Michael Angelo. When the darkness makes the golden glow invisible, the lights in the other part of the garden make it possible to sit and read of the sixteenth century wonder. His father, like many another father, was a weed. He tried to make the boy a silk and wool weaver,

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since he needed the wages to help out the family exchequer. But Michael went on drawing and modelling, until, as Vasari says, "he was beaten by his father and other elders; they, perhaps, not perceiving his ability, and considering the pursuit he had adopted an inferior one and unworthy of their ancient family."

The ancient family of Buonarrotti is not very well known today. Its good name is of no importance whatever. But little Mike is fairly familiar to something over half the people of the earth, and has been so for pretty nearly five hundred years. He began to cut in the marble and broke the rules and laws of sculpture to such an extent that everybody laughed at him. He had a row with his friend Torrigiano over some of his work and the latter hit him a crack on the nose and broke it, so that "he was marked for life." He cut up dead bodies to see how the muscles worked. And when he had made a greater success of sculpture than anyone of his own or any other day, he started out as a sort of side show to draw the famous cartoon, a huge affair which caused so much excitement among artists and students that when it was "left with too little caution in the hands of the students" they tore it to pieces, each one grabbing a piece to take home for his own study, which to them was sufficient excuse for the destruction of the masterpiece and the vandalism of the whole proceeding. Today there are bits of it here and there in different museums—in Vienna, in Oxford, in Venice, in Florence and in Paris—prizes beyond all price.

And then Bramante, becoming jealous of the sculptor because he feared his competition, went to Pope Julius and suggested that Michael Angelo be ordered to paint the ceiling in the new chapel in the Vatican. This would take him out of the sculpture business and Bramante would be well rid of him. So at the age of thirty-four Michael Angelo changed to painting and executed perhaps the greatest piece of art ever seen upon this earth. He even invented a new kind of scaffolding under the ceiling, which

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is used to this day, so that he could stand and lie more comfortably while doing the work.

Having, at the age of fifty or more, beaten everybody in both sculpture and painting, he took to architecture and was put in charge of the rebuilding of St. Peter's in Rome and some of the palaces in Florence. Thereupon he became the leading architect of his era. Not satisfied with having reached the top in three branches of the arts, he became a military engineer and planned and constructed the fortifications of Florence, which withstood a siege or two. In between times he wrote poetry of a high order; and finally, at the age of ninety, still painting, sculpturing and architecturing—still going strong—he died, leaving the general feeling on the part of those who came after him that he had only just begun.

This is no clematis climbing gracefully along the wall. This is the tallest plant in the garden that does not even need a stick to help it withstand the force of gravitation and the storm. After all, there arises a certain respect for the strong stalk that shoves aside all the little pretty flowers and goes on serenely with its own job without giving a rap as to what happens to anybody in reach. Here in the garden appears to be a strange human side to the plants, or perhaps a horticultural side to the humans. A little vine that cannot stand alone—a weed with a silly, useless flower—winds its way up the stiff stem of the larkspur and before the resident realizes it the vine has bent over the stronger plant. Is it Cleopatra keeping Antony from the wars? Is the vine always the female and the stout stalk the male? That would be a very ungracious thing to say, and it is to be hoped not true. Yet there seems to be no plant of consequence in either part of the garden that is not attacked by something. If it is not Genghis Khan and his hordes from Asia, it is the rose bugs. They come out of the East or the West led by some Attila and sweep with fire and sword across the roses. Like the invaders of old, they live off the country they pass through. Where on earth they come from is a

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mystery. How they know where the roses are is beyond human comprehension. And then the birds form a Holy Alliance with the roses and attack the bugs on the flank in this little War of the Roses in the garden.

The resident's heart warms to the birds. We should be overcome by the insect Huns if it were not for these defenders of the civilization of Flowerdom. Yet again they, too, upset the cosmic balance of the garden. Not the least interesting thing therein is the philosopher who helps the resident in time of stress. He usually occupies his hours for limited periods with the vegetables, but there are always moments in his busy life that can be spared for conversation, if the subject is interesting, or even if the day is warm. Once he came thus with excitement in his manner and fire in his eye.

"I'll have to be doin' something, sir, with the strawberries," said he, irritating his scalp with a muddy thumb. "Just as they is comin' about right for the house all them birds come along and eats 'em up."

"I'm afraid we'll have to plant some more strawberries, then, John."

"What good'd that do, sir? You'd just have more birds."

"But think of having still more birds, John."

"What do you want with birds, sir?"

"Well, I don't just know."

"But you know what yer want with strawberries—at least the Missus does."

There appeared to be no adequate rejoinder to this; so the resident asked what the philosopher had to suggest.

"I'd poison the whole lot of 'em, sir."

"But, John, think of all their lights and livers and veins and muscles working so beautifully. I'm afraid you'd spoil all their machinery."

"That I would—bad cess to 'em."

"That was what Lucretia Borgia did, John."

"I dunno what Miss' Borgia does with 'em, sir, but I know what I'd do. I'd soak 'em with dope and lead."

"But they have to eat something," pled the resident.

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"They'd still be eating, sir, if we had no strawberries, wouldn't they?"

It was an unanswerable truism. The resident tried another attack. He ventured to ask who made the strawberries. Here was a possible way out.

"Who made 'em?" cried John. "It's me that made 'em. I plant 'em, and water 'em, and weed 'em."

To be sure. The philosopher was right. The resident ducked and ran, saying: "I'll speak to the Missus about it, John." And he left the poisoner filling his pipe and preparing to snatch another short half hour for meditation.

And yet if Genghis Khan and Attila and the other great unwashed had not invaded Europe, we should be a pretty slothful and effete lot by this time. And if the rose bugs left the roses alone, they might lose their charm and fragrance just from lack of pep. Perhaps if Buonarrotti senior and the other elders had not beaten little Michael he would not have kept his pep and blossomed into such an amazing flower. He might have only sculptured cigar store Indians, or painted valentines, or built shops in Casentino. It is a difficult problem; and the resident of the garden had a dim suspicion that perhaps John's philosophy was more in tune with the Music of the Spheres than his own didactic notions. On the whole the better part of valor was to duck and run through the glass door.

These were some of the problems of the garden, and like other problems they presented difficulties. Anyway, there is something interesting in realizing the three dimensions of the flowers, finding out their little habits and customs, and then in the other part of the garden reading the histories and biographies and getting the same sense of reality among the different flowers of the ages.

There was a time when the reading did not mean this. Fiction was perhaps responsible for it. The men and women who passed through the pages were amusing, interesting, suggestive figments of the imagination. But that feeling changed as time went on, and it became far more

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interesting to think of the real people of the past; to see them in fits of anger, despondency, elation; to realize that they got up in the morning and washed—or didn't wash—and dressed and had little rows with other people and pains in their tummies, or teeth, or toes just as the resident of the garden does. They, however, went at it again after the troubles and put the thing over, whatever it was. They ruled, or flattered, or murdered, or loved, or died. Of course that is what we all do, and the only difference between one and the other is the difference of strength, or persistency, or courage. That is the difference between the clematis and the golden glow, the peony and the heliotrope. Perhaps each has its place in the sun; but the place seems to vary so much that sometimes it seems unfair one should shove the other out in that calm, overconfident cavalier fashion. The resident gets very angry with the one and pulls it out and chucks it on the rubbish heap just to give the other a show. And then some kind of an insect comes along and eats up the charming, weak thing. Next spring the overconfident one starts in again at once and goes at it with a persistency and determination that outdoes the spider climbing the wall.

Mr. Cellini, called Benvenuto, or Welcome, by his parents, because they were so pleased at his arrival, was one of these. He tells all about himself in his autobiography without the least hesitation. He is the most conceited ass in autobiographical history. Whenever he makes a design he tells you how good it is, how much better than the other fellow's. He takes it to Duke Cosimo, or Duke Lorenzo and then details the praises which the patrons of the arts in Florence showered upon him. He enlarges on the chagrin of the other designers. You smile and think what an idiot the Italian was and congratulate yourself on never having exhibited such conceit; and then you realize that today, hundreds of years afterward, this design is one of the treasures of the world.

It is the two sides of the plant again. The strong and

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the confident get up to the light—if they have the ability. When Benvenuto had made the mould for his statue of Perseus and built his furnace, and with his dozen assistants lit the fire and started the melting of the metals which were to combine and make the bronze to be run into the mould, he grew ill with excitement. Running from one side of the furnace to the other, piling on wood, trying to get the metal hot enough and not too hot, he wore himself out. Finally when the conflagration spread to the house and set that afire, and the storm and the rain came, and the whole thing seemed likely to go up in smoke, and all his months of labor and care, his years of ambition and hopes go for naught, he suddenly collapsed at the critical moment. He had tried a new method of casting a heroic statue. He had maintained that it could be done in spite of my lord the Duke and the other patrons and artists. And now in the critical moment he was stricken with a terrible fever and had to go to bed, crying: "I shall not be alive tomorrow!" "I feel that I am dying!" His housekeeper tried to comfort him, but he would have none of her.

Suddenly in the midst of his pain and suffering, as he lay there on the bed in his room, a figure appeared before him and cried out that the statue was ruined and all was lost. "No sooner had I heard the shriek of that wretch," says our Benvenuto, "than I gave a howl that might have been heard from the sphere of flame. Jumping from my bed I seized my clothes and began to dress. The maid and my lads and everyone who came around me got kicks and blows of the fist while I kept crying out in lamentation: 'Ah! Traitors! Enviers! This is an act of treason by malice prepense! But I swear to God that I will sift it to the bottom and before I die will leave such witness to the world of what I can do as shall make a score of mortals marvel!'" Then he went to work to save the day; which he did, all told in amazing detail; and the Perseus came out marvellously well, proving to be exactly what the modest, self-effacing Benvenuto said it would be—one of

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the great statues of the world. So that he has made far more than a score of mortals marvel.

It is again the story of the stiff plant shoving everything aside and asserting itself at the expense of the others in that part of the garden, until it stands out above them all and with its lower leaves covers up those that have been crushed, pushed aside and squashed out of the light of day. Apparently if you do not have conceit, somebody will shove you aside in human and in horticultural life. When you have finally gained the top it is no longer called conceit, but confidence and courage. Yet, conceit or courage, the statue stands to this hour in the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence and people from Kalamazoo and Kokomo go to see it, while those whom Benvenuto stabbed in the back are dead, gone and forgotten.

Perhaps the heliotrope is conceited, too, just because it has a good smell. But it never does anything of moment and therefore its conceit is cheap and a sign of weakness. Perhaps that is why somebody observed that great minds can digest great crimes, why Napoleon could have the Duc d'Enghien shot without drawing forth any criticism, and why the Emperor Justinian is a great figure in history though he starved and strangled and put out the eyes of so many people.

After one of these episodes between the green paths when a stiff-stemmed dahlia and some cosmos had entirely obliterated a plant of sweet elysium the resident of the garden grew disgusted and depressed. After all, sweet elysium has its own charm and has just as much right to live as anybody else. He felt stirring within him certain Bolsheviki sentiments. Why should a plant that happens to come from seed *A* have the strength to get up to the air and another plant from seed *B* not have it? And he turned through the door and took to books again.

But there was little difference. The strong seem to have shoved out the weak about as often in the garden of history as in the garden of plants. Doubtless the powerful and

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the weak alike possessed good and bad points, but since the former had something which the latter lacked the struggle in the two fields appeared to be pretty much the same.

Mahomet, for example, might well be the iris of the garden. It is very beautiful in flower; it has its amazing faults. It spreads its influence all over the lot. When it blooms it is wonderful, when it is not in blossom it merely prevents other plants near by from growing to maturity. So with Mahomet. He was a splendid looking person—a great flower. "Before he spoke," says Gibbon, "the orator engaged on his side the affection of a public or a private audience. They applauded his commanding presence, his majestic aspect, his piercing eyes, his gracious smile, his flowing beard, his countenance that painted every sensation of the soul and his gestures that enforced each expression of the tongue."

You can see him in Mecca and Medina standing before the people, a great orator, a great personality. There have been many others with the same natural gifts and they all start with a great advantage. All of us can recall one or two such in our own day. But Mahomet had much behind this that does not always go with the manner; yet when it does so combine, it produces leaders of men. "His memory was capacious and retentative; his wit easy and social; his ambition sublime; his judgment clear, rapid and decisive. He possessed the courage of both thought and action." In other words he had unequalled personal magnetism and absolute confidence in himself.

Hence though a private citizen who had no especial prominence up to the age of forty he asserted so often and believed so implicitly that "There is but one God and Mahomet is the apostle of God," that first three people in his own household, and then after a time fourteen more, and finally millions upon millions of human beings believed him and still believe him implicitly over immense spaces of the earth.

Many a time he would have gone under but for his "courage both of thought and action." After he had

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secured fourteen followers for his new and somewhat egotistical creed he gave a banquet to get some more—to do a little propaganda work of his own. Forty guests came and received some lamb and a bowl of milk; and after dinner the principal speaker of the evening, or afternoon, arose with "his commanding presence and majestic aspect" and told them of the new creed—these men who worshipped a myriad of gods and goddesses and did not think over much of Mahomet as a prophet. It must have been a shock to them. Indeed, he was getting no response, and the after-dinner speech in spite of all was pretty much like its counterpart of our day—not very effective. Then he cried out with all the immense personality which has been given to only a few mortals: "Friends and kinsmen! I offer you, and I alone can offer you, the most precious of gifts, the treasures of this world and of the next to come. Who among you will support my burden? Who among you will become my vizir?"

Nobody answered.

It was quite a moment in the history of the world. Suppose he had not had the "courage both of thought and action." Suppose he had not had confidence in himself, and the meeting had adjourned *sine die!* What an extraordinary difference in the history of the last thirteen hundred years!

But Ali, a boy of fourteen, was hard hit. He stood up and cried out: "O Prophet, I am the man." And then ensued the usual row between him and his father, in which the latter said in substance: "Don't do it. It won't pay. Come and work in my office and make a good living. Don't go off on a wild goose chase with this crank." But Ali went, and helped to lead most of Asia and some of Europe into the new camp.

Taken out of a book and put into terms of today it is a good picture—the spellbinder with the great courage and confidence; and perhaps an era just ready for some such idea. It is a great stately lily in the garden, full of confidence, topping the other flowers by a head, erect,

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strong, perfect in form. Down below the leaves that spread out in every direction and squash other simpler but still beautiful things there is something of the other side of the shield. When in a few years he got 'em going, as Billy Sunday says, he offered something more to hold his followers. He said that this world was nothing compared to the next. Here they must stop drinking, eat dates and water for a steady diet, stop having exciting religious festivals, avoid the society of the ladies, pray pretty often and fast a good deal of the time, besides doing other things that he and God stipulated. But in the next life—that was quite a different matter. There the followers will find "diamonds," to quote again the philosophical historian of the Roman Empire, "robes of silk, palaces of marble, dishes of gold, rich wines, artificial dainties, numerous attendants and the whole train of sensual and costly luxuries which become insipid to the owner even in the short period of this mortal life. Seventy-two *houris,* or black-eyed girls, of resplendant beauty, blooming youth, virgin purity and exquisite sensibility will be created for the use of the meanest believer; a moment of pleasure will be prolonged to a thousand years and his faculties will be increased a hundredfold to render him worthy of his felicity. Notwithstanding a vulgar prejudice the gates will be open to both sexes, but Mahomet has not specified the male companions of the female elect lest he should either alarm the jealousy of their former husbands or disturb their felicity by the suspicion of an everlasting marriage." Some clap-trap and much wisdom, all suited to the people of his time and place, all advanced with wonderful personality and that amazing "courage of thought and action."

After all it would be a mistke to pull up the iris by the roots and throw it out on the rubbish heap. Such an accomplishment belongs to the garden. It may seem at times as if the heliotrope and the sweet elysium and their like ought to be protected, as if they ought to form a League of Plants for self-determination along horticultural lines,

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so that the little flowers would get just as much light and sun and air as the big ones. They might keep a standing army of insects ready at hand, so that when a plant shot up above the common herd and began to shut out the light of the others the Allied and Associated Armies of Bugs would go to it and eat up the presumptuous thing. And then comes the awful thought that we should have no more Michael Angelos, or King Davids, or Shakespeares, or George Washingtons. There would be only a well-ordered, commonplace, uneventful world where all would be the same size and nothing new, or great, or splendid ever happen. It is all a part of the animal and plant nature and perhaps we all have our places, squashed and unsquashed, tall and short, beautiful and ugly, weak and strong, alike.

It is an amusing thing to be the resident of a garden. It does not require any very large outlay of this world's goods. It not only serves as a change from the daily round of the struggle for existence, but it comes to be an object in life on its own account. It suggests how interesting it must be to the Great Resident of the Garden of the World to watch all these plants of the different animal, mineral and vegetable kingdoms fight and struggle, come up or go under, thrive or perish, as the case may be. No doubt in that as in other things there is the temptation to interfere and root up the cruel and the selfish, to stop wars like this last one in Europe, to put in a hand here and there and straighten out some things. Occasionally it seems as if this were done, as in the case of that annual plant of five hundred years that has been growing ranker of late and that is known as the Hohenzollern Family. Yet finally one day the watchful Resident tore the whole thing up by the roots and, let us hope, left not a single shoot to re-appear next spring.

So the little garden scarcely thirty miles from town thrives modestly in both its parts and brings forth almost daily something new and amusing, something worthwhile. And if it does not count for much in the organization of the Universe, nevertheless it serves to keep its resident a little nearer sanity than he might otherwise remain.

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REPUBLICAN PARTY PRINCIPLES—I

DEFENSE OF THE CONSTITUTION

By HON. MILES POINDEXTER

JUST now we are being forced back to fundamental questions. It is not at all difficult to see, upon a diagnosis of current political agitation, that the real spirit and motive directing these movements is essentially revolutionary. The Constitution is becoming unpopular in many quarters because it interposes its guaranties between the citizen and the wishes of certain leaders and organizations, who would impose their own will upon him. In politically advanced circles, which give shape and tone to economic and political agitation, even the independence of the United States, as a nation, sovereign in its powers, is made the subject of ridicule. It is not sensible to close our eyes or understanding to the power and significance of the party which is pressing these doctrines forward. It is not very long since it was able to influence and modify, if not control, the administration of our government.

No greater service has ever been rendered the nation by any political party in its history than was rendered by the Republican party when it took up the fight, against what seemed to be invincible influences, and defeated the effort to put a large part of our affairs under the control of a union of European and Asiatic states—but that work is not yet finished. The issue is still alive. As a part and parcel of it is the movement to overthrow the Constitution and, by one form or another—often concealed, but always sinister—to establish an extra-constitutional autocracy. Powerful support is given even now, in high places, to the demands of certain classes and organizations that they shall exclusively have the decision as to the manner in which industry shall be carried on.

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If their demands should be conceded, they will decide when and how properties, which they do not even own, shall be operated. Many of the industries subject to this demand are absolutely vital to national and social existence; so that it requires no difficult or abstruse logic to arrive at the conclusion that, once this demand is accepted, these private organizations, or individuals, will control the state. So it is that constitutional government is involved.

The attack upon our free institutions very frequently takes constitutional forms; but the abuse of apparently legitimate powers, such, for instance, as the power of taxation, may go to such extremes as to defeat the very purpose of the constitution itself. Taxes which were levied in war times, as war measures, and which were, as such, willingly submitted to by the people, are proposed as permanent systems of revenue in time of peace. It is readily to be seen that, carried to an abnormal extent, this could be used as a means of communizing the state, of confiscating private property, of destroying, so far as its essence is concerned, one of the chief elements of liberty—namely, the security of private property. This meanaces as much—more, in fact—the humble citizen, striving to attain some measure of competence for himself and family, as the larger property holders.

But far beyond this is the insistent note of revolution. A more distinct view of the movement can be had by putting it in the perspective of the great progressive, but constitutional, achievements of recent years which have, to a large extent, overthrown the boss system in politics and in government; and by manhood suffrage, woman suffrage, the secret ballot, the primary election for the nomination of party candidates, the initiative, the referendum, the breaking down of autocracy in the House of Representatives—put into the hands of the people agencies by which they, at least, have the power and the opportunity to absolutely control, by the ballot, the character and conduct of their govern-

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ment. But the condition still remains that that government, however much it may be under control of the people, is subject to the limitations of the Constitution. These limitations were placed there primarily to throw around the citizen, even the humblest, the protection of the whole power of government, if need be, in his inalienable individual, personal, rights and privileges. The founders and framers of the government had been through a revolution brought about by the exercise of the arbitrary and unjust power of government; so they were determined to restrict and limit the powers of the government which they set up in this new land. They, in the first place, defined specifically its power in a written constitution, and they established, upon a secure basis, respectable and independent judicial tribunals for the determination of any questions arising as to a departure from the terms of the Constitution by any branch of the government. They limited the tenure of office of members of the House of Representatives to two years, establishing thereby a practical recall in the Constitution itself, by means of which the people would keep a constant check and control upon this branch of the legislature. They divided the legislative powers into two Houses so that one would be a censor of the other—requiring, even in the necessary processes of the enactment of laws, more thorough, complete and repeated analysis and examination. Not satisfied with this limitation, and balance, and curb upon the powers of government, they established the veto in the President, as a further guard against abuse, and as an assurance that, before a law should become a rule over the people, the most careful and considerate sanction should be given it.

In the "after the war" radicalism, and the rather weak panderings to paternalism so characteristic of many elements in our political life, there is apparently a belief that too much power and too unlimited control cannot be given to the government. This argument seems to proceed upon the theory that, as the people control the government, the

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more power it has the better. This is the argument of tyros, of course. It was all gone through with by the great statesmen who were graduated in the school of experience and learned in the history of other governments and ages, who, with much labor, and, some think, with the genius of inspiration, framed our system. The obvious fallacy in this line of argument is that those who would put into the hands of the government absolute and complete control over, and even ownership and direction of, the private activities and industries of the people, would open the way—as has been shown in the great object lesson of Russia—to the dictatorship of any individual, or small group, or organization, or combination, which may, by corruption or shrewdness, or fraud, or perhaps by force, secure control.

All of these are practical, stirring issues. In the administration which preceded that of President Harding, much encouragement was given, not only to internationalism, but to domestic radicalism. The first was effectually stopped by the people and by the Republican administration chosen in the last election. But the movement towards world centralization of governmental power is not dead; and it behooves the Republican party to remain vigilant that the program is not revived. The second is giving evidences of widespread and increased activity. It is the issue of constitutionalism against arbitrary and unscrupulous power.

The mission of the Republican party is the defense of the Constitution and the maintenance of the fundamental principles of free government. Other and more temporary problems are, of course, important, and will be handled with varying degrees of efficiency by whatever party may be in power, subject to the inevitable variation of the personal element entering into any administration. But immeasurably more important is the duty of the Republican party to check the growing movement looking towards the crippling, if not the complete destruction, of the Constitution itself.

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IS THE MERIT SYSTEM PASSING?

By CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

WHAT of the Merit System? Is it really in jeopardy? Are we on the road back to the spoils system? Is it so inefficient that it is a handicap and a hindrance to a proper administration of public affairs? Is it really a nuisance? "Everybody knocks the Government Service," the National Federation of Federal Employees tells us, and the Republican editors tell us the same thing when the Democrats are in power, and now the Democratic editors are telling the same story.

A Western Congressman has voiced a curious complaint apropos of the recent parade in Washington for Woodrow Wilson. He avowed himself amazed to observe that half the parade was made up of Government employees. So amazed and indignant, in fact, was he that he hurried to the White House to see the President about it. "I told the President," he is reported to have said, "that I did not believe we could reasonably expect bureaus and boards that were made up of friends of the last Administration to carry on the work in their departments with any great desire of reflecting credit on this Administration. I urged the plan of appointing postmasters be changed so that Congressmen might recommend candidates, with the arrangement that every candidate should pass the efficiency test. The President," he dolefully commented, "did not seem much impressed."

While addressing the House Committee on Appropriations late last March, Attorney-General Daugherty declared that "it is probably a gratuitous suggestion, but I believe the Civil Service is an interference, to some extent, in the discharge of public business. I suppose I have been

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voting, in party platforms and local elections, for the Civil Service proposition for a great many years. About one-half the employees in the Department of Justice are under Civil Service. While I am Attorney-General, and while the Civil Service law is in the statutes, I will enforce it and observe it, as I expect to enforce and observe all laws: I believe, if it were not for the Civil Service, we could get along with less than two-thirds of the number of employees under Civil Service, and probably get twice as much work out of them."

"I do not speak for the Administration, but I am going to give you the benefit of my observation and judgment, about which I have no doubt. I am thoroughly convinced that the Civil Service is a hindrance to the Government. I would rather take the recommendations of a political committee, either Democratic or Republican, a self-respecting committee, for the appointment of a man or woman, than to be compelled to go through the requirements of the Civil Service to secure an employee."

To assert that one would prefer the endorsement of a political committee to a name from an eligible list selected after careful examination by a body of trained experts is to disclose a perverted view of the purposes of government. Government exists for the good of the country, not to furnish rewards for political services. To emphasize the difficulties of removals is to display a lack of knowledge of the plain wording of the law—a rather amazing lack of knowledge on the part of the chief law officer of the Government. The law provides that no person in the classified civil service of the United States shall be removed therefrom except for such cause "as will promote the efficiency of said service and for reasons given in writing."

Certainly there is nothing onerous about that method. Briefly put, it is to the effect there must be a reason and that reason must be communicated to the person removed. Could anything be simpler. Ah, but the spoilsman replies, "It would be so much easier if that provision were not upon

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the statute books." Would it be? Those who make that assertion forget the past or overlook present experience in those places where the Merit System does not prevail. In one of his stirring annual addresses as President of the National Civil Service Reform League, Richard Henry Dana discussed the question, "Does the Merit System Destroy Discipline?" saying "that constant complaint is nowadays heard that the security of tenure of the civil service law begets dullness, sloth, routine and bureaucratic habits."

"But what," he asks, "about the spoils system? The security of tenure, as long as the party that made the appointments was in power, was ever greater than it is or ever has been under the civil service system, and a party often remained in power in a city, state or nation for decades at a time. During these long reigns it was impossible to get rid of henchmen of party magnates. Let us take a few examples: The late Silas D. Burt, head of a large branch of the United States Customs House in New York discharged one such henchman for repeated intoxication. He refused, at the risk of losing his own office, to reinstate him, but the Senator of that great state induced the Secretary of the Treasury to reappoint over Colonel Burt's head this worthless man."

The head of a Washington bureau complained that he was forced to keep a number of drunkards on his payrolls to satisfy the Congressmen on whose favor the appropriations for his department depended and that he set apart a room in which these men slept off their intoxication, but, try as he would, he could not get rid of them.

Another, an historical instance related by Mr. Dana, was that of the 525 supernumeraries in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving in Washington, for whom, in order to keep them out of the way of the regular workers, bunks were provided, in which they spent the larger part of their time in sleep. Mr. Graves, the head of that bureau, struggled in vain to get rid of these useless persons through his nomi-

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nal power of discharge. In the end Mr. Graves managed to call public attention to the abuse, secured a senatorial investigation, and finally that bureau was put under the merit system, and the abuse ceased.

Has Attorney General Daugherty any experience under the present civil service law to match those experiences?

In its call for a conference in Washington in April the Civil Service Reform League referred to this statement of the Attorney General and to those of certain of the members of the President's Cabinet who are openly opposing the platform of their party in voicing their opposition to the civil service law. Secretary of Labor, John J. Davis said that there should be "less of the classified service." Postmaster General Work has expressed a desire to have presidential postmasterships removed from the jurisdiction of the civil service commission, made subject to a mere departmental examination and therefore subject to his control. Mr. John H. Bartlett, who for a short time was Civil Service Commissioner, appointed by President Harding, and who is now First Assistant Postmaster General, has made a public statement distributed as part of the Post Office Department's publicity, advocating a restriction of the merit system to the lower places of the service only; thus excluding those places promotions to which are the great incentive to efficiency among countless employees of the Government. With the appointment of Mr. Elmer Dover as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury the injection of politics into the Customs and Internal Revenue services has already had a disastrous effect.

There is no doubt that these several statements coming as they do at the same period of time and in conjunction with the removals in the Bureau of Engraving have disturbed Washington and alarmed the country. The action of the President in this connection is thus dispassionately described by the League: "Misled as we believe by interested political advisors, President Harding on March 31, removed the Director and thirty employes of the Bureau of Engraving

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and Printing from their positions without assigning any reason or giving any notice to the persons dismissed as required by Section 6 of the Act of August 24, 1912. The President gave to the newly appointed Director of the Bureau, Mr. Louis Hill, the power to appoint the subordinates, a power which had been vested by Congress in the Secretary of the Treasury to be exercised in accordance with the civil service law. We do not in the least attribute to the President an intention not to observe the law. Doubtless its provisions were overlooked, but many of the men discharged do not know to this day the reason why they were removed from positions in which many of them had served long and faithfully."

These events may be, as the League points out, the beginnings of widespread political changes "which call for an earnest protest from those who believe in the competitive system. If they are allowed to continue, that system will be undermined and uprooted, and we shall return to the deplorable spoils methods of the past, an illustration exists even today in the service of the enforcement of prohibition where the appointments are still political. This breach of the service is so honeycombed with corruption that it is known that hundreds of thousands of dollars of graft have been taken by those engaged in it, some of whom are under indictment."

In all fairness we must not overlook the fact that the Democrats during their term of power showed no special friendliness for the competitive system. They created endless offices but failed to place them under the protection of the Pendleton Act, a failure which the then Chief Executive took no steps to prevent.

To revert to the questions asked at the beginning of this article: Is the competitive system really a nuisance? The answer depends on the point of view. If one is an administrator wholly concerned with producing results of value and service to the country, interested in proper functioning of his office, by and large, the competitive system is a help

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rather than a hindrance. Occasionally it may protect an inefficient man, but not if the administrator is courageous and willing to exercise his power of removal. One great trouble in the employment of large numbers of people whether in private or public work is the human element: The disinclination to do the unpleasant thing; the dislike to entail trouble or sorrow upon the individual and the always present dependents. The difficulties incident to this phase of the problem may be said to be fairly constant in public and private employment and under the merit or the spoils system.

As for lack of ambition, the lack of interest in the individual members of the public with whom the officeholder comes in contact, Mr. Daugherty is, as the Philadelphia *Ledger* points out, forty years behind the times when he uses that argument. The officeholder outside the civil service rules, appointed at the behest of his ward leader for political services rendered and to be rendered, has no more interest in his job than has his fellow who passed an examination. Nor is he likely to render any more efficient aid to his chief, for his fealty is not to that chief, but to the machine leader who got him the job and whom the chief usually dares not buck. If he is called down for coming to work an hour late and doing no work thereafter, he reports the insult to his leader and the chief hears about it.

Moreover as *The Ledger* acutely points out the trouble is inherent, not in either the spoils or merit system, but in the nature of Government employment. As between the two, the merit system offers advantages which the spoils system does not. Under either, the bureau chief meets with certain irritations and harrassments, though their nature may differ. The public certainly gets more courtesy and better-intentioned treatment from even a lazy employee under the civil service rules than it does from a swaggering ward-heeler with only four years to hold a fat job and no responsibility to anybody but his own boss in ward, city or State. However that may be, it is regrettable, as *The Ledger* says, that the Attorney General of the United States could not find some

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newer arguments. His were current when Benjamin Harris Brewster held the office he now fills.

As to the efficiency of the service there is a considerable difference of opinion. The employees themselves believe that it is inefficient. They ask, "Is it any wonder that the Government can't hire qualified people to do its work; that the best workers are leaving by thousands; that the Government has a turnover that would wreck a private business."

And then they ask "Don't you think it's time that Uncle Sam had ONE employment policy instead of forty; that salaries fixed under President Buchanan were revamped; that the whole system should be overhauled?"

If one's reply is in the affirmative, if one believes that the system is inefficient and wasteful, that there are ten or twelve rates of pay for the same work; that there is no future for workers appointed on merit; that trained scientists get day laborer wages, then they are urged "to boost for classification." The pending legislation designed to improve conditions provides for reclassification of the entire U. S. Civil Service; a salary scale which fixes pay by the skill and training required for the work, with a minimum rate of $1,080 a year; appointments and promotions on proved qualification, determined and regulated by the United States Civil Service Commission; removal of inefficient employees in accordance with standards of efficiency controlled by the Civil Service Commission; opportunity for advancement of pay within a grade, according to efficiency; equal compensation and equal opportunity for promotion irrespective of sex; a uniform efficiency rating system to be established by the Civil Service Commission, with records accessible to employees and provision for appeal to the Civil Service Commission; transfers between departments at higher rates of pay; administration of the salary provisions by the budget-making bureau, which can keep the classifications up to date.

There is a national federation of Federal Employees making for these ends, as is the Chamber of Commerce of

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the United States, a most significant and a most encouraging fact. By the way, the president of this federation has pointed out that "If it is true," as Attorney General Daugherty says, "that he could do twice as much work with two-thirds the number of employees now in the Department of Justice if they were political appointees instead of Civil Service appointees, why does he not dismiss these employees whom he considers inefficient. There is nothing in the Civil Service law to prevent. * * *. Business methods in Government means capable administration and capable administration means the elimination of idlers if there are such."

And now as to the first question propounded: Is the merit system in jeopardy, are we on the road back to the spoils system? For one I cannot believe so. As the Montana Congressman is reported to have dolefully concluded "The President did not seem much impressed." The President's general indifference to the clamor of patronage seekers may infuriate the petitioners but the principle of civil service is too firmly approved by the mass of the people to cause anything but admiration for a man in the White House who declines to be impressed by such pleas.

The outbreak over the removals in the Engraving Bureau shows how the people, not the politicians feel; and the latter in the long run do not defy their constituents. Moreover, the President has let it be known that it was not in any sense his intention to break down civil service regulations, but rather to improve the efficiency of governmental machinery under those regulations. He has also let it be known that there is no intention at present of changing the method of selecting the postmasters under the Presidential appointment. The system under which the present administration is working, that is, of taking one of the three highest under a competitive examination, is regarded by the White House as giving, on the whole, fairly good satisfaction, that is so far as the public is concerned.

President Harding has many admirable postmastership

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appointments to his credit. Edward M. Morgan in New York has been nearly a half century of experience in the service. Likewise Colonel George E. Kemp, the new Postmaster at Philadelphia, who except for his service in the Army has been in the postal service all his adult lifetime, George W. Gosser was picked as Postmaster at Pittsburgh from the ranks and from the classified service to fill this important postmastership. He was appointed Assistant Postmaster at Pittsburgh, September 1, 1906, and served in that capacity until October 1, 1916, when he was made superintendent of the East Liberty station, the largest postal station in Pittsburgh.

These are important facts to bear in mind in considering the Administration's attitude. As the New York *Evening Post* has pertinently pointed out every recent President has strengthened the merit system and almost every one has also weakened it in spots. President Wilson declined to interfere with Mr. Bryan's deliberate passing around of consular posts to deserving Democrats." On the whole, however, every recent President has left fewer offices open to plunder than he found. In the words of this editor "If this advance has been made by 'covering' into the classified service partisan appointments made by the same President, this only shows the difficulty of taking politics out of politics." And right here is where we come upon a serious difficulty. The constant pressure of those who want office upon those who have other duties to perform and who are seldom backed up by a counter pressure. Public sentiment is unquestionably favorable to the competitive system; that is, every time there is a showdown; but it fails to exert itself as persistently as the demand for political recognition and so we have the periodical recessions, in the tide of one of which we now seem to be caught. Thus far, however, each recession seems to be smaller and less powerful than its predecessor and of shorter duration. Friends of the competitive system do wisely to call attention to the danger of such acts as the recent removals in the Bureau of Engrav-

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ing, but we must go a step further and that is to inaugurate a widespread campaign of education as to the significance, danger and inefficiency of the spoils system. It has been so long since there was unrestricted spoils that the present generation forgets, if it ever knew, how unAmerican and subversive of sound government it is.

HOPE

By EDWIN CURRAN

God will not quit the world because of war,
Nor beauty forget to grow the morning rose.
Life is not thru the building of the earth;
Life will not stop, for life the greater grows.

Now day is hammered blue out of the night;
The world is wrapped in flowers of its dead.
Think not that war was the end of the world,
For there are finer, brighter things ahead.

The earth is too strong to be killed with strife;
A sphere, fire-born, that faced the centuries
Will keep on still, thru centuries to come—
And nothing can shake down *that* one great peace.

Men have fought wars before, who thought earth lost,
Who termed the nations withered, blind with lust;
They cried, all hope and beauty had been killed.
We have forgotten them. Their names are dust.

There is a sure intention in the world,
A steady aim that goes on thru the lands.
We must remember that; for we are those
That ages hand to others, with their hands.

We cannot stay the great inevitable.
There will be peace—tho come a thousand wars.
The march is steady, sure, and cannot pause;
As earth goes grinding on among the stars.

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THE FARMER AND THE SALES TAX

By CHARLES E. LORD

IN arguing recently before a tax committee, a gentleman claiming to represent the farmers spoke with more oratory than sound judgment in favor of the present method of taxation because "it made the rich man squirm," a back-handed argument that it did not matter if a farmer was hurt if only some other man was apparently hurt more. If you tread on my toes, it is all right, providing you break some other man's leg.

Now, as to the first, if the rich man is an idle rich man, he squirms into tax-exempt securities and ceases his squirming; and, as to the second, it is not necessary to break any man's leg in order to carry our load of after-war taxes; in fact, if you break legs, then those so injured are less able to do their part in the whole general scheme of things which makes for national prosperity.

The following day another man, this time one identified with financial interests, argued against a sales tax that it "favored the farmers above all others and created in the farmers of the country a privileged class."

These statements are contradictory. Either one man or the other was reasoning falsely. A commodity sales tax could not injure the farmer and at the same time give him an advantage over others.

All recognize that such a tax will, to a moderate extent, favor the farmer above any other citizen in that a farmer is more self-contained. In many instances, he produces a large part of what he and his family consume, which, as it does not pass through the channel of trade, would bear no sales tax. This, however, is only an extension of a natural advantage which he has always enjoyed. On such food as he

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grows and consumes, on the fodder for his stock and, to an extent, on fuel, he now and always has been free from the profits of dealers and storekeepers. That is one of the compensations offsetting some of the hardship of a farmer's work—a compensation to which he is entitled because of his valuable function in feeding the world—and the slight additional advantage accruing to him under a sales tax should not be objected to.

It would seem, however, as though he should become an earnest worker for such a tax when the subject is once laid before him in definite shape. That, apparently, is one of the things which has not yet been done and which he is entitled to have done so that he may understandingly play his part for or against a proposal which is now the subject of so much discussion.

Our farmers from their experience with present profit taxes have learned that such taxes have increased the cost of everything they buy. They are now learning that they are also depressing the price of everything they sell. The cost of what they buy is increased because the natural law governing the operation of such taxes is that they be added to and passed along to the ultimate consumer.

This is because taxes now rest on profits of active business. If profits are small, prices are low, and the government receives no revenue. If profits are large, prices are high, and the government gets its share. It can't work any other way. If the government receives a large revenue under such taxation, you and I must pay it in the form of high prices for what we purchase. When prices get so high that we have to stop buying, then comes a reaction such as we are experiencing.

Present taxes depress the price at which the farmer sells because they impair his market. That phase of their operation is now becoming noticeable. A system of taxation which prevents the accumulation of capital or savings for investment in productive enterprises shuts off the stream which creates prosperity for all, and leads to industrial

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stagnation and increasing unemployment. As millions become out of work, the farmer's market suffers, and it is his best market, that created by industrial activity in our own country.

The present method of taxation is an imported thing—a theorist's dream and the people's nightmare. It is espoused by a small group of economists, their experience drawn from books, and not from life, who are trying to persuade themselves, and us, that it is possible to tax a small section of the people in such a way that the body of the people will not feel it. The result shows that it cannot be done—less now than ever before, since modern conditions have rendered us so mutually dependent and necessary to each other.

This system is also beloved of demagogues because it lends itself to disguised taxation. Such men care not that the burden grows heaviest in proportion as it reaches the poorer man so long as it is a disguised burden. Their attitude is described by a U. S. Senator who has written of our tax laws:

> "The law is an abomination as it stands, and is a conspicuous illustration of the legislative product of a Congress charged with the duty of raising enormous revenue, on the one hand, and painfully apprehensive of an aroused public displeasure which will find expression at the polls. We, therefore, so camouflage our legislation as to make it appear on the face of things that only those possessed of enormous wealth and large incomes are unduly burdened.
>
> "The people, long subject to indirect taxation through our tariff laws, seem perfectly willing to accept without question any scheme of taxation, however oppressive to them in ultimate results, which, on the face of things, seems to be otherwise."

We can safely rely on all past human experience to teach us that taxes tend in the end to rest against consumption and be paid by the consumer; that if they are applied in disguised or discriminatory form they tend to be added to and profited upon at the expense of the consumer, while if they are applied in an open, definite and general form they do not lend themselves to such additions and rest lightly.

It is the old conflict between daylight and darkness—the daylight which bravely faces a measure of small recognized

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consumption taxation, and the darkness which covers up a gross hidden tax on consumption. No amount of oratory or self-delusion can alter facts.

What we have now is well known; the evil effects oppress each of us, and even so the government revenue is drying up. We are experiencing soap-bubble taxation after the bubble has burst, and grave professors propose to blow new bubbles of a different color; and we are supposed to forget our unsold wheat or cotton or goods while we watch these expanding bubbles and console ourselves with the belief that we have strapped something to some other man's back which looks large even if it proves to be a shadow.

Are we children to be amused with soap-bubbles? Would we rather bear heavy taxes disguised than light taxes openly applied?

It is safe to assume that the American people are tired of deception, tired of creators of class consciousness—the class hatreds that have wrecked former democracies and would wreck ours were we not so interwoven, so fluid, so free from real class distinctions. We are all willing to pull together in old-fashioned American double harness to draw our load, providing we know definitely what that load is and that it is fairly and openly adjusted.

Let us see how it is adjusted now in so far as it affects the farmer?

An example has already been given of how the present taxation operates to increase unduly the price of everything the farmer buys—farm implements, clothing, groceries, or whatever it may be, all coming to him bearing a tax load plus a profit load. The thought that the rich man is paying the tax must be dismissed, for if he is a very rich man, living off investments, he buys tax-exempt securities and escapes taxation; and if only a moderately rich man in active business he either figures his taxes into his prices and so recovers them from the consumer, or, if unable to do that, has no taxable profit and the government secures little revenue

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from him. The farmer today, like the rest of us, eventually pays the taxes so levied in what he buys.

The farmer in addition is under the same obligation as every other citizen to make an income tax return and pay an income tax and possibly surtaxes if his income is large enough to be subject to them. And, as already pointed out, he now suffers in his market and in the price received for his products because taxes which tend to lessen industrial activity must impair the purchasing power of his customers.

He now also pays sales taxes—heavy, badly applied ones—on more than fifty articles, many of which are necessary to him, such as automobiles, musical instruments, sporting goods, firearms, soda water, movie tickets, etc., to mention a few, with a proposal now under consideration to increase the list and to include possibly such articles as tea, coffee, sugar, gasoline, etc., all at a high percentage as 5 or 10 per cent or more.

So we have income taxation that lets the idle rich escape and fastens on income earned by work or risk or skill and is, therefore, passed on to the consumer in higher prices; have sales taxes at high rates on special articles; and have the system so applied that we are always in debt for back taxes, are short of active capital and are experiencing a general setback.

Suppose, however, we scrapped much of the present method and applied common sense and practical knowledge to the drafting of a new revenue law. Let us have income taxation in a simpler, more just form which will cause it to rest where it is intended to fall, together with an open, small, low rate consumption tax applied to commodity sales, and see how the farmer's load would be adjusted under such taxation.

Under such a plan, a farmer would pay a small, known, fixed sales tax in the price of goods purchased, not the unknown, hidden tax and profit load he now pays; and would pay it on his purchases of goods only, not on his rent, his doctor's bills, his transportation, the food he raises or

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what he produces. He would not pay special, heavy taxes in the price of his automobile, his musical instrument, etc., as at present. He would still pay an income tax, if his income was above the exemption, but at a low rate not difficult to compute. There his federal taxation would stop.

If he farmed in a small way, selling a little produce or milk or eggs, he would not even be obliged to collect a tax on his sales, as all sales up to a certain amount a year would be exempt, it not being worth while to the government to administer a tax against the sales of thousands of small traders.

If he produced and sold on a larger scale, then, and then only, would he be required to collect the sales tax the same as any other producer or trader. He would sell his wheat or cotton or livestock, or whatever it might be, at the market price, the bid price, as at present, and add to the total the tax of 1 per cent and collect it from the miller or factor or dealer to whom he sells. It would have nothing to do with his profit, nothing to do with the price obtained and would pass along, "running with the goods." He would be the collector, not the payer, of the tax; and the amounts so collected he would enter up in a book or on a form, and once a month or once a quarter (as the law might be) make payment or send a check to the Collector of Internal Revenue at his local district.

It is undeniable that his burden would be very much less than at present, that he will escape many vexations which now affect him and that restored industrial activity should improve his markets.

It can be accomplished with a few words, will require no difficult definitions and be understandable. Let there be "levied upon each and every business involving the sale of any commodities or merchandise produced, manufactured or purchased for sale, a tax equal to 1 per cent of the gross sales of such business, and that the tax be collectible monthly from the vendor, who shall be compelled under penalty to keep a true record of his sales."

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Such a measure carrying with it an exemption of all sales up to a certain fixed amount (as $1,800.00 or more per annum) freeing entirely such occupations as street peddling or vending, petty traders, small farmers and all those whose annual sales do not total that sum, would be easy and inexpensive to administer and collect.

Such a sales tax should be applied in connection with:

A uniform tax at moderate rates on individual incomes;

A uniform tax at a flat, not excessive, rate on the net income of corporations;

Certain excise taxes of tried revenue producing results (as tobacco taxes);

Customs duties properly adjusted.

To those familiar with governmental figures, such a program of taxation promises sufficient revenue for a sound economical administration of the government, including interest and some reduction of floating indebtedness, and would replace the present excess profits tax on corporations (which is now loaded into prices) the heavy surtaxes on individual incomes (which, when not loaded into prices, escape through buying tax exempt securities), many present obnoxious sales taxes at high rates on special articles and most of the additions to the excise taxes since 1917.

The key, therefore, to the abatement of present tax evils and inequalities, to the removal of the shackles on industry and progress, to simplification of administration and the ending of interminable borrowing, seems to lie, and to lie only, in the application of a gross sales tax of 1 per cent on commodities all along the line.

Does it seem good to so practical a man as the farmer to have millions of the money collected in taxes paid out again to auditors and accountants to disentangle and examine needlessly complicated reports? Does it seem good to him to have his government revenue based on fluctuating business profits which shrink out of sight when not loaded into prices? Does it seem good to him to have his government always borrowing ahead, spending the tax money before it

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gets it or before it even knows what it will amount to? Does he approve of having sales taxes (and we have them now on over fifty articles) applied at high rates against certain things, as automobiles, musical instruments or soda-water, or, as proposed, tea, coffee, etc., instead of at a low rate, as 1 per cent on sales generally?

The answer is not hard to forecast, and need not be feared by timorous legislators. This country is what it has been made by the farmer, the laborer, the business man and the server and worker in any useful capacity. The farmer today is in touch with the world and the times. He sees China, a country rich in natural resources with plenty of farmers and plenty of laborers, in economic slavery, often large sections starving for lack of administration and transportation, for lack of the merchant, the developer, the distributor, and has had the experience in his own affairs that an injury to one industrial group reacts unfavorably upon all. We are no longer to be diverted from our own burden by the camouflage of "tax the other fellow," who immediately passes the tax on to the next man and so on round the circle until we each get it in aggravated form or else the clock stops.

It has been stated in Congress that the tax load in recent prices was about 23 per cent; *i. e.,* the pyramiding of the tax on profits as it passes through different hands has meant that the final consumer paid 23 per cent more on the average for articles bought than would otherwise have been the case. A low rate tax on gross sales will also grow as it passes along, and in considering it we should know what percentage it will finally represent.

Calculations carefully made covering food, clothing, fuel and other necessaries show that it rarely reaches as much as 3 per cent altogether, so we would have a pretty definite 3 per cent in place of (not added to) the present 23 per cent load. The best way to illustrate this is to take something in general use, say an article of clothing such as a typical yarn-dyed 32-inch cotton tissue retailing at 45 cents. The following table shows the result:

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	Value	*Tax*
Cotton 1-5/16 in. (1-2/3 lbs.)		
Sale by grower to factor at 31c	$0.51	$0.0051
Cotton 1-5/16 in. (1-2/3 lbs.)		
Sale by factor to spinner at 33c	.55	.0055
Yarn (1 lb.)		
Sale by spinner to weaver at 95c	.95	.0095
Dyes and Supplies other than yarn	.20	.0020
Cloth (10 yards)		
Sale by weaver to jobber at 26c	2.60	.0260
Cloth (10 yards)		
Sale by jobber to retailer at 31c	3.10	.0310
Cloth (10 yards)		
Sale by retailer to consumer at 45c	4.50	.0450
		$0.1241

From this table we learn that although the cotton passed through seven hands in the course of its manufacture into cloth and distribution, and paid a sales tax each time, yet the total tax represented but 12 4-10 cents on $4.50 worth of cotton cloth, or, as stated, less than 3 per cent. The question is, can we bear to know that such a tax is included in the price we pay for what we buy or would we prefer to continue to have something like 23 per cent taken from us in a disguised form?

The word "sales-tax" is being used by its opponents as a bug-a-boo to create the impression that some new form of load is to be put on the people, while as a matter of fact a 1 per cent tax on sales of commodities will decrease, not increase, the burden the consumer now bears. A portion of our taxes have to rest against consumption in any event, and every revenue estimate looks to obtaining from a billion to a billion and a half annually directly out of consumption. Present sales taxes we have galore. How deceptive to argue that a billion raised by 5 or 10 per cent taxes on sales of automobiles, candy or Thermos bottles or, as proposed, tea, coffee and gasoline and other special articles will not hit all of us just as hard as the same billion raised by a 1 per cent tax on sales of commodities generally.

A similar amount has to come out of consumption in either event. If it is at a small rate, definite and uniform, we will know what it is and the government will get it all.

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If it is disguised and at a high rate, it will be loaded to us and we will pay more, of which the government will get only a part.

We do not want to minimize the law of supply and demand. Our farmers are now suffering severe losses and have a very clear understanding of some of the reasons for them. Perhaps they have not as clearly recognized how much our present system of taxation has contributed to these losses. The purpose of this paper is to start them thinking about it. We are dry goods merchants and have no personal axe to grind. We are not directly affected by the present sales-taxes on certain articles or interested in fighting the battles of those who are.

What we are interested in is general prosperity, which helps us as it helps every legitimate enterprise. That is why we have given some of our time to securing publicity to this whole matter. We believe that the nation which first adjusts its after-war tax load so that it will fit in with its normal activities, instead of making its normal activities fit tax interference, will secure the greatest amount of prosperity to its people, regardless of classes.

THE CHOICE

By Florence Katharine Johnson

Life has not given to me my great desire
I have not reached the pinnacle of fame
To which in youth I did aspire—
I have not heard the world's acclaim.

And yet, could I turn back the many pages,
Attain one thing most greatly prized,
My choice would be the same through all the ages!
To see life's gift in your contented eyes.

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THE TRANSPLANTED JEW

(A Study in the Problem of Jewish Orientation)

By DAVID GOLDBERG

THOSE who are concerned with the problem of Americanization ought to bear in mind that the Jewish newcomer is possessed of a mentality that is vastly more complex than that of the average non-Jewish immigrant; that he cannot, therefore, be thrown into the common scrap-heap of newcomers generally and be subjected to the commonplace course of "Americanization." He is *pogrom*-shocked, so to speak, and must be singled out for special treatment. To begin with, there is this fundamental difference between Gentile and Jewish immigrants: the Gentile belongs to the economically driven category, for his primary motive to migrate is to seek bread. If, therefore, upon settling in the United States of America, his hopes for a livelihood better than the one he has been able to eke out for himself in the country of his nativity are consummated, there is nothing that should prevent his complete orientation. He only needs acclimatization and education; but when these two factors are supplied him, by time and the Americanization agencies, he is fairly reconciled to his new environment.

On the other hand, the requirements of the Jewish newcomer are not quite that simple and elemental. The Jew does not come to the United States merely to seek bread. He comes for that, of course, but also to free himself from the disabilities under which he has been smarting in the countries of the *Diaspora*. And since he is not primarily an economically driven element, the consummation of economic dreams *in itself* is not sufficient to reconcile him to the new world. Being a fugitive from a hostile environment which robbed him of his peace of mind, he needs to

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be assured that the land of his choice and ideal is in fact the Land of the Free, and that the inalienable rights of man solemnly proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence will not be revoked to bar him. No one stands in need of that assurance but the Jewish newcomer, whose experience in his own native land, we might say, whose *historic* experience has so shattered his tranquility of mind as to make him supersensitive, suspicious and difficult at orientation. The pathetic proneness of the Jew to tremble before the sound of a falling leaf and sense hostility everywhere represents an acquisition of milleniums; likewise, his *idea-fix* that the Gentile is not capable of according him decent treatment is an idea that has been fixed on him by the Gentile himself, through centuries of cruel treatment. Therefore, to wear off an *idea-fix* born out of centuries of ill-will, we must apply the antidote of generations of good-will. Only history can wear off an historic grievance; in other words, *only the assurance of a better future can eradicate the misfortunes of a past.*

The transplanted Jew states his case with convincing clarity, for he draws his logic from his personal and historic experience with the Gentile. He has two major premises, as it were, from which his argument proceeds, leading logically to one and the same conclusion. He postulates, in the first place, that the Gentile, by his very nature, is not capable of according the Jew brotherly and neighborly treatment, and he postulates, in the second place, that it is in the very nature of the Jew to *invite* persecution from the Gentile. Therefore, the Jew has no permanent future in the United States any more than the Jew has a permanent future anywhere in *the Diaspora.* The philosophy embodied in this syllogism is, of course, the philosophy of despair which points out to but one solution, namely, the solution offered by the Political Zionists and—strange though the grouping might appear—the anti-Semites. But neither the Political Zionists nor the anti-Semites have any suggestions to make to the agencies of Americanization, as both of them,

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from different angles and motives, of course, are bent on ignoring the one indisputable reality, namely, that the preponderance of the Jewish people must forever remain among the Gentiles, because the rehabilitation of Palestine in a hundred years will not offset even a perceptible percentage of the natural increase of fifteen millions of Jews in the *Diaspora* lands—that it might not even offset the natural increase of the native Gentile population already there, if these will be strengthened, as it might actually happen, by an influx of other Mohammedan and Christian Gentiles from abroad. It remains, therefore, for the forces of Americanization, both from within and without American Jewry, to convince the transplanted Jew that his reasoning is based on false premises, that despite his personal and historic experience, it is neither true that the Gentile *must* persecute the Jew nor that the Jew *must be* persecuted. This must be done both for the sake of the Gentile and the Jew. For if the theory of the inherent wrongness in the contact of Jew and Gentile—a theory which is promulgated, strange to say, by both anti-Semite and Political Zionist—if this theory should gain currency and become the starting point for the solution of the so-called Jewish problem, it could only lead to fatal catastrophies, but to no solution. It would sanction, impliedly, Jewish persecution; it would still further enhance the Jewish sense of martyrdom, which sense would re-enforce him for endurance and suffering; it would, in a word, perpetuate the vicious circle of the past, *but it would not right the wrongness of contact.* There is no single country that is free of Gentiles where all Jews could go, and there is no single territory where, if all Jews would go there, that could be permanently kept free of Gentiles. The "wrongness of contact" theory, which has been adduced from an unfortunate relationship between Jew and Gentile in the past, must be refuted by the establishment of a new relationship between the two. *The contact itself must be accepted as inevitable, and its wrongness must be righted.* The Jewish problem then becomes simply a problem of

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Jewish orientation among the Gentiles. Any other Jewish problem is not THE problem, but merely A problem.

It cannot be gainsaid that the burden of proof that the Gentile is capable of a better feeling toward the Jew than he commonly displays lies on the Gentile himself. Since he it was who deprived the Jew of a tranquil past, it devolves upon him to offer assurance that history will not repeat itself in this country. The Jew cannot draw that assurance from himself, because, being everywhere in a hopeless minority, it is natural that he should reckon carefully with the temper of the majority and with the environment created at its will. Outside of the strenuous efforts he exerts to preserve the religion of his fathers, the Jew fully amalgamates with his Gentile co-citizens in making the history of the country of his adoption. In America there are no Jewish civics or Jewish politics, and never will be. Without divesting himself of his spiritual heritage, the Jew is partner to the Gentile in making the history of the country of his adoption. *But if the inviolability of that heritage is assailed by the majority, his old historic wounds reopen.* His tranquility of mind is thereby destroyed, and the task of orientation becomes difficult, and the fulfillment of it muchly thwarted.

It follows that the program of naturalization offered the immigrant Jew by the forces without must be emphatically a lay or secular program. A "Christian Americanization" of any sort is wholly subversive of the purpose, by reason of the experiences of the Jew with similar advances at his soul. He cannot justly be blamed for resenting the implication that the Christian is the only citizen *par excellence*. Consciously or instinctively, he is against any attempt to qualify American citizenship by religious affiliation. His understanding of liberty of conscience is the understanding of the framers of our Constitution themselves, possibly by reason of their kinship of experience. One's religion is one's private concern, but not the concern of the State. If, therefore, upon arriving to the country of the Free, the Jew is

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given to understand that American citizenship, which is of the State, is being qualified by Christianity, which is of the religion of the Christians, he reacts as the shell-shocked soldier reacts toward the sound of the cannon. His old wounds for which he had come to find balm are violently reopened. Has he not been told successively, in Spain, in Russia, and in Poland, that only Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics could be good citizens? Today, a preponderance of Protestant Christians insist that only Protestants could be good American citizens. Truly, history repeats itself, and with the same disastrous results. Thus, the Jewish newcomer who carries alarm in his soul is thrown back on his nativity. The word is passed: "Rejoice not, O Israel, as the Gentiles do! It ill behooves an Israelite to laugh a mouthfull. Among the Gentiles the position of the Jew is essentially that of the exile!" In this way the Jewish newcomer arrives once more at his philosophy of despair, which precludes his spiritual orientation.

But if it is the duty of the Gentile to disabuse the mind of the Jewish newcomer as to his designs on him, it is no less the duty of the Jew himself, of the forces within American Jewry, to disabuse the other *idea-fix* of the Jew, namely, that there is something in the very make-up of the Jew that invites persecution from the Gentile. By that I mean that some special effort ought to be made to refute the Jewish argument in favor of the theory of the inherent wrongness of contact between Jew and Gentile. And by the forces within I mean not alone the official agencies of Americanization within Jewry, but also and primarily, those who have a hand in the shaping and building of the particular Jewish mentality—the rabbis, teachers and preachers in Israel. For it is clear that, even should the Gentile take the particular psychology of the transplanted Jew into consideration and approach him no longer on subjects on which his historic experience has made him hypersensitive, but as long as the Jew will continue dwelling on his misfortunes in the past, near and remote, with the Gentile responsible

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for them, the task of effecting a right contact between the two must remain hopeless. In fact, much of the wrongness of contact between the Jew and the Gentile lies in this very thing, in the propensity of the Jew to weep and cry and lament, and to emphasize, directly or indirectly, the guilt of the Gentile. If, instead of melting the hearts of the people, so to speak, with tales of woe, the teachers and preachers in Israel would take it upon themselves, as a very serious duty, to inculcate upon the Jew the sense of objectivity, which he so utterly lacks, so that he might speak of the persecution of his brethren elsewhere and at other times, *without impliedly holding the Gentile generally, the American Gentile specifically, as in any way related to the perpetrators of the persecutions,* Jew and Gentile, in the course of a few generations, might be linked together in confidence as well as in understanding.

For the transplanted Jew is too intensely subjective, which hinders his orientation even there where orientation is possible. He takes his history not at all historically, but rather personally, as if the matters related there would concern his own body. While it is true that the history of the Jew thus far has been most unfortunate, yet there are sufficient dark pages in the history of any ancient people to warrant the institution of Memorial Days. Figuratively speaking, every people has had, in the course of its history, one or more of its temples destroyed and sufficient bodies of its citizenry carried away, that is to say, destruction of shrine and exile. But what people is there today that would observe a Ninth Day of Ab in the fashion and manner Jews have been observing that day during the last nineteen centuries? What Roman and Greek of today, for instance, would on the anniversary of the departure of the glory from Rome and Bysantyne fast, walk bare-footed, and shed actual tears, as if the thing had happened only yesterday? Moreover, should a stranger, not a Jew, chance to enter a Synagogue on the Day of Atonement, which is not at all a day of lamentations, but only of prayer and reconciliation, it would

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occur to him that nothing short of a calamity has NOW befallen the worshippers, that is, when judged by actual weeping and sighing that takes place there. It would seem as if the Jew can lighten the burdens of his heart through crying only. It would seem as if he had incorporated the very rehearsing of past grievances into his heritage, and having incorporated that into his heritage, into his religion, it has become part and parcel of his Jewishness. This indeed is the psychology of the distorted and the mutilated. It is the psychology of one of Zangwill's ghetto heroines who does not mind telling the world that she is afflicted with two unlike legs, one a thin one and one a thick one. . . . Again, because he has sublimated the misfortune of suffering into an essential part of his Jewishness, it naturally becomes his duty to have his posterity share, if only mentally, in that "heritage." The Hebrew school, the platform, and even the pulpit keep the Jewish heart melted and the Jewish tear flowing. Into the liturgy of the Holy Days, for instance, are drafted numberless tales of past woes, not by reason of the relevency of those tales to the liturgy of the day, but only as a convenient opportunity to rehearse one's self on the tragedy of persecution. Even the celebration of the minor feasts, commemorating the Providential escape of the Jew from intended misery is calculated more to emphasize the intended misery than the actual escape therefrom. And it is no exaggeration to say, generally, that a successful Jewish pulpiteer is he who knows to utilize the special propensity of the Jewish masses to feel themselves aggrieved and orates skilfully, in and out of season, on some such episode in the history of the Jew as, for instance, the Spanish Inquisition.

In a very real sense, Jew and Gentile are suffering for the sins of their fathers. There is too much *inuendo* in the attitude of the one toward the other, too much of searching of faults. To the Jew "Gentile" is as much a generalization as "Jew" is to the Gentile. The habit of the Gentile to hold all Jews generally responsible for the overt acts of a particular Jew is as bad as the habit of the Jew to hold

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Gentiles generally accountable for the overt acts of a particular Gentile. It is precisely what makes the contact wrong—this fallacy of judging the general from the particular. *Not the contact, but only the fallacy is inherently wrong.* Both sides, therefore, must learn to judge one another on merits, not on generalizations. The Gentile must acknowledge his historic responsibility for the particular ailment of the Jew and treat him with a view to restoring his peace of mind; at the same time, the Jew, from within, must recognize the nature and origin of his particular ailment and seek cure there where it can be found—*in orientation.*

MOON-STUFF

By Richard Butler Glaenzer

As it is second nature, almost first,
For Gloucestermen to think in terms of cod
And dipsomaniacs in those of thirst,
Bankers in terms of dollars; parsons, God;
As motion picture workers trade two eyes
For one, the camera's; and he who roves
Turns Argus; liars, truth-blind through their lies;
And mobs depend on mass-sight, being droves;
As for each creature, there's an element
To which by habit he has fallen or grown;
To which, thriving or failing, he has lent
His mind and vision till it seems his own:
So I, a dreamer, judge myself unseeing,
Unthinking—moon-stuff. Dreaming is not being.

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AROUND THE EDITORIAL TABLE

THIS has been a cruel and perplexing month. Many of our most satisfying illusions have been rudely dissipated and our confidence in our sense of fairness has been shaken. First came a letter and an appeal to give up Columbus, declaring heatedly, though in a whispered style, that the whole Columbus business was a Popish plot, that the great citizen of Genoa did not discover America but stole the credit from a Protestant Norseman who came over three hundred years before Columbus and who was a pioneer, apparently, not only in this regard but in being a Protestant several hundred years before there was a Protestant movement.

It was cruel, we say, to take Columbus from us, especially with the revelation that that once regarded patient soul was a deceitful, double-crossing Papist schemer who made the voyage in 1492 not only to throw dust in our eyes but to assist in the election of a few Catholic Congressmen.

But the next blow, in the form of a long printed circular, was even more staggering, for its open and declared aim was to take away our own "Star Spangled Banner." Surely, we exclaimed, as we gathered the import of this new onslaught, our national song was written by no Papist, no Fenian hand had anything to do with this great old song, long hammered by the musical critics—but then, thank God, we don't use musical critics to make wars or to build up governments. This song, declare the opponents, has the tune used in an old Anacreontic drinking song, which may be a reason for giving it up and it may not, for if they could sing it when drunk in the 18th Century, we ought to be able to sing when sober in this very sober Twentieth Century or quit talking about our musical progress. But that apparently is only one of many objections, another apparently being, though it isn't directly stated, that the Irish have been singing this song! That's it, those Irish, there's no way of stopping them—they are always singing or shooting one another—or something, although the shooting part was supposed to be one of the qualities we admired in our own early American ancestors, especially one who went

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out on the Western Reserve and earned quite a reputation by his ability to get the drop on Indians, wild men, buffaloes, etc.

The "Star-Spangled Banner," we are told, is a song that is distasteful to England, is a kind of hymn of hate and should be suppressed in the interest of international comity.

It is a curious mood, this, for if the same attitude of mind were to prevail in every nation there would be few national hymns and little national spirit. At first blush, one sees in this spread of what Roosevelt called "sickly internationalism," but the persistent opponents to our national song are not so much the internationalists as those who think they are doing a service in the promotion of Anglo-Saxon solidarity. Someone has said, "England suffers in America not so much from the efforts of Englishmen, as from the attempt of anglo-maniacs to re-write our history."

By way of explaining our understanding of the damage done by intolerance, let us explain that the father of the writer of this article was a member of the "Know-Nothing Party," which was the original movement in this country against the foreigner, and what bitterness exists today among the small group who find themselves driven into anti-Irish angles is a mere survival of the intense feeling of those days and the hatred of those who were not born in this country.

But even he, a member of the "Know-Nothing Party," as it was called in that day,—and, of course, let it be understod that the "Know-Nothing" was against, particularly, the Irish at that time, for they were the one class of immigrants who were increasing to the alarm of the native-born,—but even he, a Massachusetts-born man, lived to say to the writer of this article that there was no more un-American movement in this country than the "Know-Nothing Party," and that the future of this country depended on the broad, tolerant spirit of hospitality with which those who claimed to be loyal Americans would meet those who came to the country from other lands.

The survival of the "Know-Nothing" movement today is due almost entirely to a growing anglo-maniac attitude on the part of a small band of our "best" citizenry. Distinguished gentlemen and cultured and delightful women are people who do not understand that praise of England, at the expense of America, will never increase the friendship of this country for the British people, and the movement to do away with our national

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song because it offends a few people in England will only cause irritation among the great body of Americans who feel that this is a time when we should hold strongly to our national traditions.

* * * * *

Secretary Hughes has shown unusual patience in his replies to those who would assume to criticize his attitude in foreign affairs—especially his treatment of communications from the League of Nations, at a time when everyone should be upholding the man who is directing our foreign policy—directing it as ably as it ever has been in the past one hundred years.

The correspondence does little credit to the gentlemen who are pestering the Secretary when they are revealed as seeking self-advertising at the expense of his time and his patience. No one can accuse Charles Evans Hughes of being inconsistent or illogical, and while he has had probably the most difficult task that has confronted a Secretary of State in the last thirty years, he has daily added to American prestige and is writing for his country, and incidentally for himself, a chapter that no American will ever be ashamed of.

* * * * *

It was rather unfortunate that the Republican State Committee should refer to Governor Nathan L. Miller of New York as the "leading statesman of the day," for such a provocation from such a source would mean unquestionably that the Republican Convention of 1924 would find some misguided enthusiast to propose Governor Miller as the standard bearer of the party. The incident shows the lack of party discipline and lack of ideas. President Harding is having great problems at the present time and New York State should be the last state to even covetly suggest that he is to be displaced, and displaced by one who ought to be, on the party record, a firm upholder.

If the elections should result in a Democratic House of Representatives there would undoubtedly be those who will offer themselves as candidates for Republican leadership, but the last place from which we might have expected such opposition to the President was in New York State, especially in the Republican State Committee.

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DISCUSSIONS ABOUT BOOKS

*WOMAN AS MAN MISUNDERSTANDS**

A "Guide Book to Women," by James James, is not a guide book to women at all. If it is a guide to anything it is to the inanities of the author. Seldom has so much absolute dribble been gathered together in one volume, and to wade through it is made the more painful from the fact that the author is obsessed with the idea that he is a past master of epigram. It is pleasant to reflect that the author's idea of woman is not the general idea. He states that "woman is the eternal Bolshevik, the silken, sleek, untameable tiger roaming through the jungles of civilization, waving her sinuous tail invitingly in the air and purring sweetly, 'Chase me'!" "She is the disturber of the world's peace, and we can't do without her. And, as regards her own sex, she is the unblushing blackleg."

The above quotation will serve to show the type of mind of the author. So far as I can gather, the only fact stated is that woman does the most of the dirty work of the world, meaning that to her the disagreeable tasks in life fall, such as cooking, mending, cleaning, and the tidying up for mankind. However, the author states that "it may be said that woman gets the dirty work of the world because that is all, as a labor saving device, she is fitted for."

The chapters of the book take in some advice for women only. Woman—her dress; woman—her work; woman—her types; woman—her brain (and the author says that woman's brain has made her the supreme chatterer) and, of course, reiterates the old gag that a woman has no sense of humor. To him this appears a good thing because he is sure that even a rudimentary sense of humor in a wife leads straight to the divorce court.

Woman—her life; woman—her job; woman—her soul, complete the category of the book.

As to woman's soul, the author sums it up thinking it is exactly like her sole which is smaller than man's, and of a different shape. It is not so wide in the tread, and it is much more pointed. It is much thinner than a man's and consequently it wears out much sooner. And it never really keeps out the wet, and says, at the end of his analysis of this soft

*"Guide Book to Women," by James James. E. P. Dutton Company.

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and complicated and yet simple being, he finds that her soul and her meaning escapes us—as it escapes herself! and thankfully and reverently and passionately we write her little epitaph, "You little Devil!"

—HELEN VARICK BOSWELL.

THE TROUBLES OF EUROPE*

THE author of "The Greek Commonwealth," a brilliant, scholarly work, in this briefer volume diagnoses interestingly, sometimes even dramatically, and usually convincingly, the war-sickness and the convalescence of Europe.

In Part I, The Upheaval, he analyzes the revolutionary changes effected by the war in the world of politics, economics, and ideals. Graphically he pictures "the weakness and disorganization of the political state of Europe at the Armistice," contrasted "with the perfected system of inter-Allied economic organization," through which the "Allied statesmen held the greater part of the shipping, the raw materials, the foodstuffs and the credit power of the world, either jointly or individually, in their grasp." Pre-war society which "had made money its god and had elevated its conception of the indispensables to happiness to the motor-car standard" was shocked out of "a lingering malise and restlessness" as the war swept the old order and "its gods and sanctions into the abyss of the past."

Sharply critical of the Press, the University, and especially the Church, the author declares that all sadly failed humanity in the great testing-time. "The war has often been described as proof of the impotence of the Christian Churches. It would be truer to say that modern life as a whole is a demonstration that neither the world nor the churches have even attempted to be Christian."

Part II, The Settlement, is the most valuable portion of the book. Mr. Zimmern's position in the British Foreign Office during the latter months of the war and during the peace-making gives to his analysis of the Treaty

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"*Europe in Convalescence," by Alfred Zimmern. Putnam, 1922, 237 pp.

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terms unusual authority and vividness. His description of the three chief figures at the Paris Conference is almost startling in its suggestiveness. Deploring that the armistice, which was a concession to the military pride of Ludendorff, rather than a surrender, ended hostilities, the author shows quite clearly that what Europe needed in November, 1918, above all things, was formal peace. This might have been achieved, even after the armistice, within a few weeks through a preliminary treaty. This procedure Colonel House urgently supported. Mr. Wilson, however, seemed unable to realize the tragic results of the continuation of the German blockade, which postponed the re-establishment of normal political relations between victors and vanquished during the critical months of 1919. To make matters worse, Mr. Wilson declared "for the abolition of war-time controls," thus destroying at one stroke the inter-Allied organizations whose operations, if transferred to the task of revictualling Central and Eastern Europe, might have reduced the period of post-war readjustment from more than four chaotic years to a few months of normal resumption of agriculture and commerce.

As a Britisher, the author deplores with almost passionate intensity, Lloyd George's unrestrained campaign pledges in the khaki election of 1919. As a result of this "betrayal" the British Premier, "in order to embody in the Treaty financial demands which he knew would be contested, and rightly contested, by the President as contrary to the Pre-Armistice Agreement, was constantly forced to throw wider considerations to the winds; and to avoid the employment of British and Dominion troops, now in rapid process of demobilization on ships which should have been used for the restocking of Europe, he was obliged to dally and temporize with difficulties which, with the British army still in being, he might easily have prevented from ever arising at all."

Mr. Zimmern cannot understand why France "determined to associate her self with a view of the German liabilities which, by including items of pure war-costs, inevitably put her own just claims for reparation in the shade and by nearly trebling the total bill made it increasingly difficult to begin extracting payment from Germany at all."

Mr. Zimmern has faith that "Europe, the mother continent, has not yet run her race or finished her achievement. Scarred and suffering, destitute, pauperized, and humiliated, she keeps both her pride and her ideals, and deep in her heart, too deep as yet for utterance in a language that others can understand, she bears the promise of a future which will cause men to reverence her, even in her adversity, not merely as the source and origin of civilization, but as its pioneer."

JAMES G. MCDONALD.

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A DIPLOMAT'S REVELATIONS*

IT is a generally accepted fact in most of the chancelleries of Europe, that a diplomat attached to a foreign country, has a habit of seeing affairs of state through the eyes of the country to which he is accredited, and in consequence it very often happens that his dispatches and statements are received at home with a certain credulousness, particularly when they do not happen to be agreeable to the Foreign Secretary of State.

In some instances there is much to be said on the side of the Foreign Secretary, but very often it is far more difficult for an Ambassador, or Chargé d'Affaires, far away from his base, knowing but little of the peculiar conditions at home, that so often change the course of politics from day to day, and conscious of the fact that his advice is being scorned and his dispatches, which often it has taken him hours to write and rewrite, have been pigenholed by an office boy and left to moulder in the dust.

To Baron Von Echardstein, Counsellor of the German Embassy, in London for over ten years of the most critical time in the history of German relations, such treatment on behalf of the authorities at home must have been positively heartrending.

Sent to London in 1896, he arrived at the Court of St. James at a time when an alliance between the two countries hung in the balance. It had always been the height of Bismark's crowning ambition to promote ties of friendship between the two countries, and he had worked long and hard to achieve his desire. England, too, was beginning to cast off the policy of isolation that she had pursued for so many years, and was looking around for an alliance in order to balance the power of Europe, and was not averse to casting friendly eyes to Berlin.

If such a destiny had been allowed to come about, how different might have been the history of the world during the last twenty years, and how many millions of good lives might have been spared, it is impossible to conjecture. But already the Military and Naval Party had obtained the ear and heart of the Kaiser, and any hopes of such an alliance were smashed at the very outset.

Into his receptive ears were whispered tales of colonial expansion, of a mighty Empire, of a world-wide trade if only England could be humbled and her fleet wiped off the face of the map.

To the diplomat in London, who perceived that Germany could gain

*"Ten Years at the Court of St. James," by Baron Von Echardstein. E. P. Dutton Company.

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far more from England by friendship than by hostility, the growing power of the War Party at home must have appeared a positive menace. The harder he worked for peace and friendship between the two countries, the harder were dashed his plans upon the rocks, and bitter must have been his feelings as he sat and watched his country going slowly to her doom, while he was unable to do anything to prevent.

The thing that seems really extraordinary, after reading Baron Von Echardstein's book, is that war did not break forth upon the world long before 1914. During the opening years of the twentieth century, in fact up to the time of his resignation from the Diplomatic Service in 1905, it would appear as if war might have broken out almost any day of the week, and it was only due to the good-will of King Edward VII and his ministers that the insults hurled upon them by those in power in Germany, were allowed to pass almost unnoticed.

The book is a most interesting account of an epoch in history on which little light has been shed. So much has been written recently about the immediate causes of the world war, that one almost forgets that there was a time when England and Germany could have been allies instead of two armed camps, getting ready for the inevitable day when the clash would come.

—RONALD TREE.

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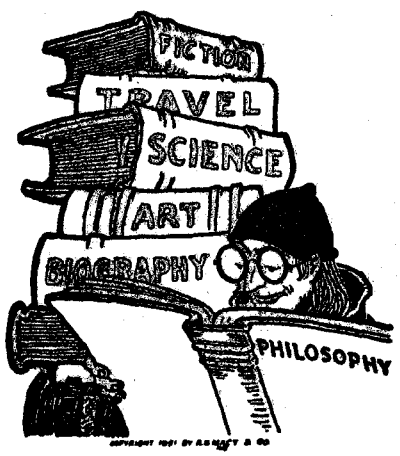

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